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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

24896

VOLUME XXIX

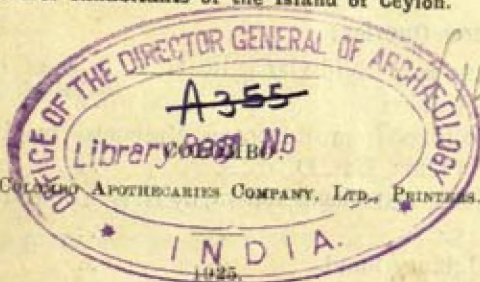
1922—1924.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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C. R. A. S.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.



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JOURNAL  
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CEYLON BRANCH  
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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
1922.

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VOLUME XXIX.  
No. 75.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

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PAPERS:

NOTE ON AN IVORY PANEL IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.  
THE TAMIL KINGDOM OF JAFFNA AND THE EARLY GREEK WRITERS.  
NOTES ON CEYLON TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.  
HISTORIA INDIAE ORIENTALIS  
EXCERPTA MALDIVIANA.  
JOTTINGS FROM EUROPEAN MUSEUMS.  
CONAR AND ALAGAKKONARA.

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

### CEYLON BRANCH

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#### GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, January 26, 1922.*

#### Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President.

Mr. P. M. A. Corea.

„ W. M. Fernando.

„ Herod Gunaratna,  
Mudaliyar.

„ F. A. Hayley.

„ A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.

Mr. Sam J. C. Kadirgamar.

„ W. A. Samarasingha,  
Atapattu Mudaliyar.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.

„ L. J. B. Turner,  
M.A., C.C.S.

„ D. D. Weerasingha,  
Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S. } Honorary

„ Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Visitors: 6 ladies and 16 gentlemen.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 2nd November, 1921, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President, read the following note on "An Ivory Panel in the Colombo Museum."

## NOTE ON AN IVORY PANEL IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

BY

JOSEPH PEARSON, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.,

*Vice-President, Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.),*

*Director, Colombo Museum.*

Among the valuable ivories in the possession of the Colombo Museum is an ivory panel depicting the traditional scene in the Garden of Eden (see Plate I.). The panel was obtained by purchase in 1909 and was said to have belonged to a Portuguese "mixed" family at Negombo, and it has always been assumed that the panel was carved in India or Ceylon during the Portuguese ascendancy.

It is interesting to note that at least four such ivory carvings are known. Two are in the Louvre in Paris, one is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the fourth in the Colombo Museum. Each of these merits a short description.

My only knowledge of the first specimen (A) is derived from Albert Jacquemart's "History of Furniture" (translation published by Reeves and Turner, London). On page 229 of that work an illustration of an ivory cabinet with gold mountings is given. The carving is very elaborate, and on the inside of the door is an "Adam and Eve" panel. This box is said to have been in the former Sauvageot Collection in the Louvre.

The second box (B) is also from the Louvre, and its existence was made known to me by the Louvre officials, to whom I wrote for further information regarding the Sauvageot box. To my surprise I received photographs of a box which was undoubtedly different from the one figured by Jacquemart. In his letter of explanation the

Director stated that this box had not been exhibited in the Louvre for a long time, and that it had never formed part of the Sauvageot Collection, but was believed to have entered the Louvre in 1828 with the Révoil Collection. This box is figured in Plates II. and III. No description is necessary as the illustrations reveal its character very clearly. Unlike the Sauvageot box, the "Adam and Eve" carving is on the outside of the doors and the opening of the door occurs in the middle of the panel.

The third specimen (C) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and its general appearance is similar to that of the Révoil box (Plate IV.). An illustration of it is given in Kunz's "Ivory and the Elephant" (p. 117).

The fourth specimen (D) is in the Colombo Museum. It is an isolated panel (Plate I.), which probably formed one of the doors of an ivory cabinet. Unlike the other examples the inside of the panel is not carved, though crude and unfinished drawings are clearly visible. The upper and lower halves of the left side are perforated by small holes which indicate that two hinges were probably present on the uncarved side.

A close examination of the four specimens shows that all display a marked similarity of design; A and D may be grouped together as having many points in common as distinct from B and C which again have many points of close resemblance.

First, as to the general similarity of all four. In each case a tree occupies the centre of the scene, with Eve on the right and Adam on the left, and a serpent is coiled around the trunk of the tree with the head outstretched towards the apple held in Eve's right hand. The figure of Eve shows the same posture in all four, and the left hand shows a wide space between the thumb and first finger. In each case Adam has his left arm applied to his breast while his right arm is held partly outstretched, and a small shrub covers his loins. In each case an elephant is seen on the extreme left of the picture.



A and D resemble each other in the following points. They form a complete unbroken panel and only the head and fore limbs of the elephant are seen. The horses present on the right of B and C are absent in A and D. A dog and pelican are shown standing at Adam's feet in A and D in exactly the same attitude.

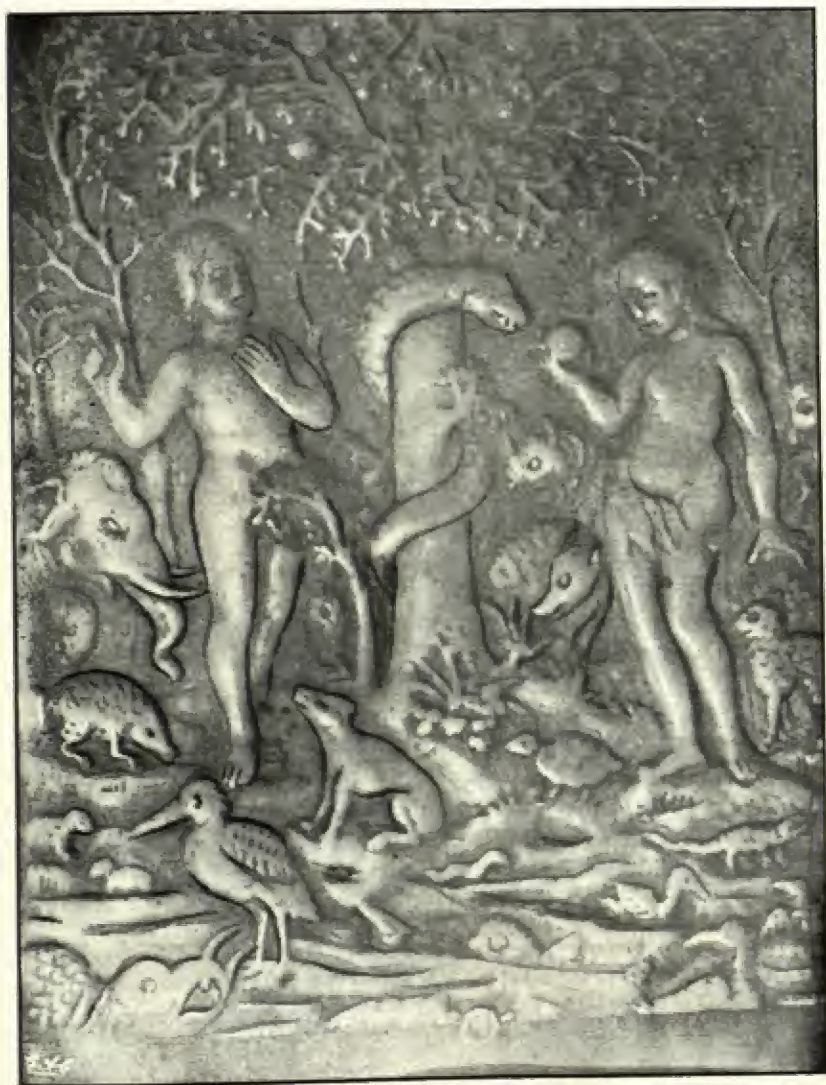
B and C agree in forming a double door broken in the middle. The panel is more comprehensive and contains the full figure of an elephant on the left and two horses on the right. The disposition of the other animals is slightly different from that of A and D. The decoration of the boxes is of a similar nature in specimens, A, B and C and in each case the scrolls around the panel contain the figures of birds.

There can be little doubt that these four specimens were made in the same workshop and probably specimens A and D were made by a different artist from specimens B and C. It is of course difficult to compare the four as regards quality of workmanship as the four originals are in different parts of the world, and the illustrations available for comparison are not altogether satisfactory. So far as one can tell, the figures of Adam and Eve in the Ceylon specimen are more graceful and in better proportion than in any of the other panels.

Jacquemart's figure of A is identified by him as Indian work. Kunz describes C as Sinhalese, 17th century. More information is desired upon the question of the age and origin of these interesting ivories. I have not been able to obtain any precise information on this question but the consensus of opinion appears to favour their having been made by Italian Monks in the 17th century either in India or Ceylon.

In this connexion I may say that Dr. A. Nell has placed in my hands an illustration of some 17th century Italian *filet* lace in which the Adam and Eve design forms the central theme though the treatment is in some respects different from that of the ivories. As a non-expert I do not venture an opinion. My object in writing this note is to put on record an interesting case in the hope

PLATE I.



IVORY PANEL, COLOMBO MUSEUM.





PLATE II.—IVORY CABINET, RÊVOIL COLLECTION, LOUVRE.

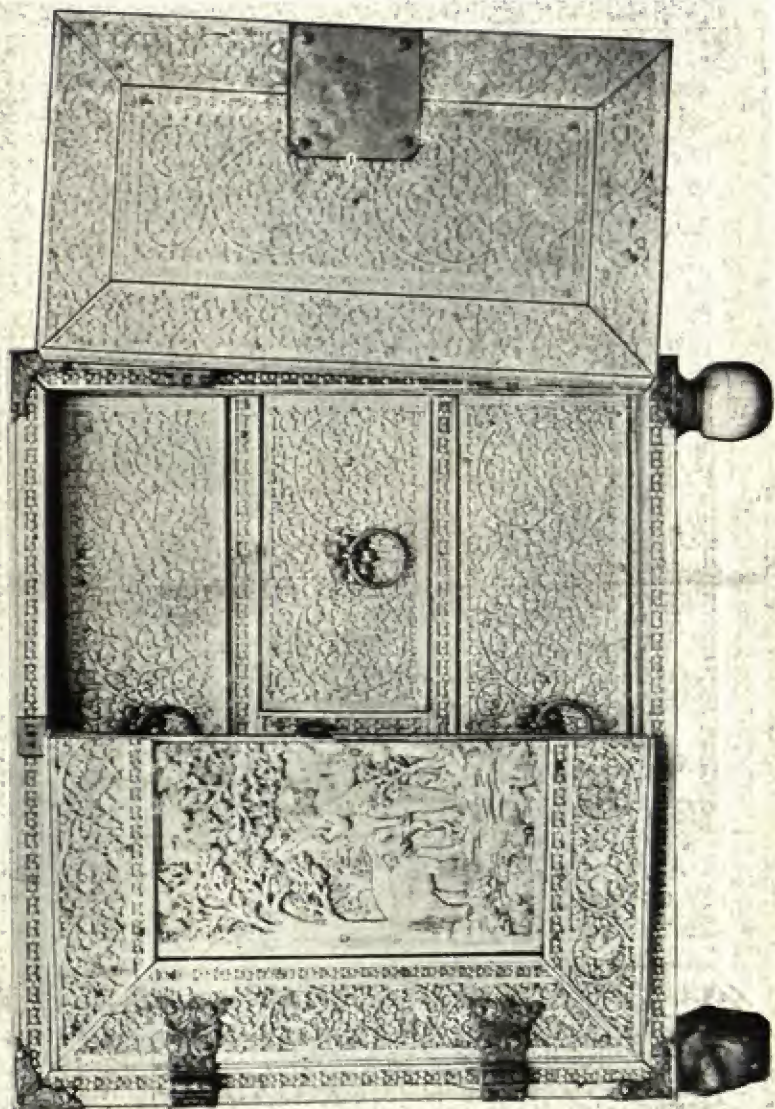


PLATE III.—IVORY CABINET, RÉVOIL COLLECTION, LOUVRE.



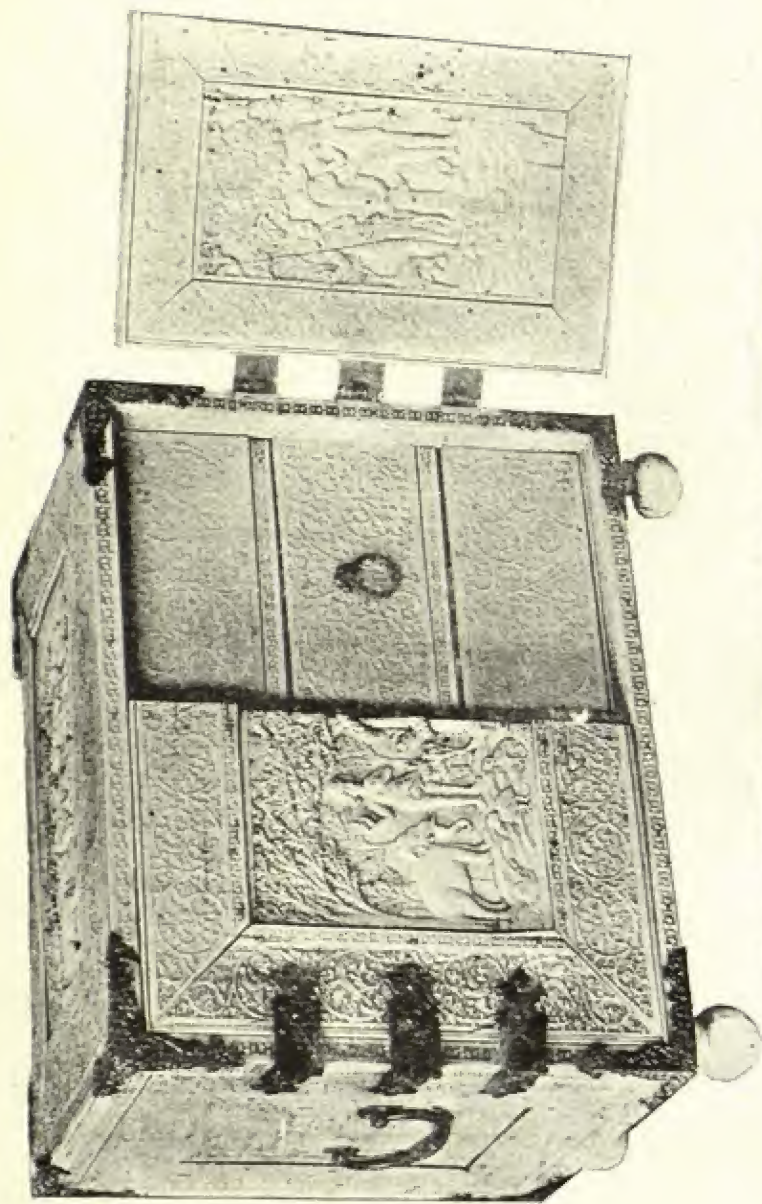


PLATE IV.—IVORY CABINET, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

that a complete history of these panels may be forthcoming.

After this note was written a letter was received by me from Sir Cecil H. Smith, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which he expressed the opinion that the box in the Victoria and Albert Museum belongs to the period of the Dutch Colonisation in Ceylon (1657-1796) rather than to the earlier Portuguese occupation period.

### Description of Plates

Plate I. Ivory panel, Colombo Museum.

Plate II. Ivory cabinet, Révoil Collection, Louvre (closed).

Plate III. The same (opened).

Plate IV. Ivory Cabinet, Victoria and Albert Museum.

3. Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., read a paper entitled "The Aims of Archæology in Ceylon."

4. Dr. Evan Wentz and Mr. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar offered remarks.

5. On a motion proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., a vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturers.

6. A vote of thanks to the Chair, proposed by Dr. S. C. Paul, brought the proceedings to a close.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 3, 1922.*

## Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P.,  
Gate Mudaliyar.

„ W. A. de Silva, J.P.

„ A. M. Gunasekara,  
Mudaliyar.

„ W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 19th August, 1921, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected members of the Society, viz:—D. M. Rao, B.A. (Madras), Norman de Zoysa, T. R. Sanjivi, M.A., Ph. D., Litt.D., H. P. Erwin, J. A. de Alwis, S. A. Pakeman, M.A. (Cantab.), Gate Mudaliyar A. Naganathar, J.P., U.P.M., A. A. Kuthdoos, The Revd. Paul Lucien Jansz, M.A. (Cantab.), B.D., N. H. M. Abdul Cader, Dr. E. A. Cooray, M.D., M.R.C.S., Revd. J. W. E. Botejue, E. G. Adamaly, D. J. Cameron, M.A., U. D. R. Caspersz, L. MacDowall Robison, F. H. V. Gulasekharam, M.A., Robert Marrs, M.A. (Oxon.) and H. L. Reed, M.A. (Cantab.).

3. Correspondence *re* Oriental Conference held at Calcutta was laid on the table.

4. Letters dated 28th and 31st January, 1922, from the Editor, *Times of Ceylon*, regarding the publishing in full papers read before the Society, were tabled, and it was decided that the resolution of the Council published on page 383 of the Journal No. 65 of this Society be rescinded and the newspapers be at liberty to publish papers in full.

5. The following vote of condolence was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing:—

Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Mr. C. W. Horsfall be placed on record and that an expression of sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of Mr. Horsfall's family.

6. The financial position of the Society and the question of raising of the annual subscription were considered and it was resolved to leave the matter of the recovery of arrears in the hands of the Secretaries. It was suggested that a collector should be sent round to the defaulting members living in Colombo. The Rules should be enforced against defaulters.

It was resolved not to raise the subscription.

It was resolved further to accept the suggestion of Dr. Pearson *re* economies in advertising, etc.



7. The draft Annual Report for the year 1921 was considered and accepted.

8. The nomination of Office-bearers for 1922 was considered. It was explained that under Rule 17 Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam retired and that under Rule 18 the Hon. Sir Anton Bertram retired, and was not eligible for re-election.

Resolved that Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam be nominated for re-election and that Dr. P. E. Pieris be recommended for election to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of the Hon. Sir Anton Bertram as Vice-President, and to recommend that the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. C. W. Horsfall be filled by Prof. Marry.

9. A paper entitled "The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the early Greek Writers," by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam was tabled and it was decided to refer the paper to a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S. and Dr. S. C. Paul for their opinions.

10. A letter dated 18th February, 1922, from the Secretary, Ceylon Natural History Society, was tabled and the Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. H. Collins, was asked to represent this Society at the meeting, which was to be called to arrange dates for meetings of the various Societies, so that such meetings should not interfere with one another.

11. The date and business for the next Annual General Meeting were considered and it was suggested that the meeting be held in the first week in May and that Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka's paper entitled "Daily Routine of Parakkrama Bahu II." be read.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, May 11, 1922.*

## Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P.,  
Gate Mudaliyar.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary,  
and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 3rd March, 1922, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected members of this Society, viz:—Sam E. Müller, C.C.S. and W. James Fernando.

3. The report of the sub-Committee appointed to consider the paper entitled "The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the early Greek Writers," by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, was tabled.

It was decided to accept the paper for reading and for publication in the Society's Journal, at a meeting to be held, if possible, about the end of July, the arrangements to be left in the hands of the Secretary.

4. The report of the sub-Committee appointed to consider Mr. Hocart's proposals for the appointment of Archaeological correspondents was read and accepted.

5. The question of selection of members of Council for 1922 was considered.

It was pointed out that Messrs. A. M. Hocart, L. J. B. Turner, D. B. Jayatilaka and W. A. de Silva had been unable to attend any Council Meeting and that under Rule 20 Gate Mudaliyars W. F. Gunawardhana and Simon de Silva retired by seniority. It was decided that Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and Dr. A. Nell be recommended to fill the vacancies caused by the retirement of Gate Mudaliyars Gunawardhana and de Silva and that Messrs. Hocart, Turner, Jayatilaka and W. A. de Silva should continue to be members.

6. The following vote of condolence was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing:

Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of Mr. Joseph's family.

7. The question of the election of an Honorary Treasurer in place of Mr. Joseph was considered.

Resolved that Mr. C. H. Collins be recommended to fill the vacancy until a decision has been arrived at by Government as to Mr. Joseph's successor in the office of Secretary of the Museum, and that the matter be further considered then.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 10, 1922.*

## Present:

His Excellency Sir William H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.,  
Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Miss N. C. Carter.

Mr. James A. de Alwis.

The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.

Mr. J. E. Gunasekara.

„ J. J. Gunawardhana.

„ G. E. Harding, B.Sc.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh,  
M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

„ S. J. C. Kadirgamar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary and visitors.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.

„ A. R. B. Perera.

„ E. Reimers.

„ W. A. Samarasingha.

„ Atapattu Mudaliyar.

„ W. Sathasivam.

„ John M. Senaveratne.

„ F. A. Tisseraverasingha.

„ D. R. Wijeyewardana.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th January, 1922, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following Annual Report for the year 1921, which was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and seconded by Mr. John M. Senaveratna.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1921

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1921.

## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. A Special General Meeting was held in February when Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc., Keeper of Indian Arts, Fine Arts Museum, Boston, delivered a lecture on Indian Paintings (with lantern slides). In June the Annual General Meeting was held when His Excellency Sir William H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Patron of the Society, presided, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana read a paper entitled "The Aryan Question in Relation to India." On November 2nd, Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., delivered a lecture on "Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing."

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXVIII., No. 72, Parts 1-4, was issued during the year containing, in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

- (1) "Notes on some of the Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon 1795-1805," by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
- (2) "Nagadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna," by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.
- (3) "Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag Register, Batavia," by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P.



## CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

Dr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum has translated the Chinese references to Ceylon contained in "Tao I Chih Lueh," which will appear in the Society's Journal. He is now engaged in translating other references to Ceylon in Chinese records. The funds for this work have been provided by Government to whom the best thanks of the Society are due.

## MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 383 members of whom 45 are Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

During the past year 38 new members were elected.

Mr. Charles Dias Amaratunga, Proctor, became a Life Member.

## DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. A. L. R. Aserappa, Advocate, Armand de Souza, Editor, *Ceylon Morning Leader*, Godwin de Livera, C.C.S., C. W. Horsfall, S. Vythianathan, Mudaliyar, and William Wadsworth.

Mr. Horsfall was for some time a member of the Council of the Society. He took a great interest in the Society's work and was always present at meetings.

Mr. Vythianathan contributed frequently to discussions on papers, particularly in relation to Jaffna.

## RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year, viz:—The Hon. Mr. E. Evans, B.Sc., Mrs. Mary Gladys Garle, Dr. T. B. Kobbekaduwe and Mr. R. N. Thaine, C.C.S.

## COUNCIL.

Under Rule 20, Dr. P. E. Pieris and the Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh retired by least attendance and Messrs. W. A. de Silva, J.P. and F. Lewis, F.L.S., by seniority. Two of these being eligible for re-election Messrs. de Silva and Lewis were re-elected. The other vacancies on the Council were filled by Messrs. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., A. M. Hocart, M.A., Archaeological Commissioner.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 163. The Library is indebted for donations to the Government of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Linguistic Survey of India, The Archaeological Survey of Burma, Mrs. J. Samaradivakara of Hansagiri Walawwa, Henaratgoda, The Director, Public Works Department, Ceylon, Dr. Hugh P. Joseph and Messrs. W. E. Bastian & Co.

For valuable Exchanges received during the year: The Geological Society of London; California Academy of Sciences; The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; The Smithsonian Institute; Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land-en Volkenkunde, Batavia; The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; Societe Zoologique de France; The Royal Society of New South Wales; The Royal Colonial Institute; l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi; Director, Colombo Museum; and the Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Colombo.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., assumed duties as Archaeological Commissioner early in 1921. He states that the main task of the

department for the year was to organize. The Library was rearranged, new records were started for finds and inscriptions and the foundation of a coin collection, intended for reference, was laid. The work begun by Mr. Bell on the Lankatilaka at Polonnaruwa was completed according to a slightly modified programme. The principles followed were:—

(1) To put in no work that was not necessary for the safety of the building.

(2) To conceal no evidence that could possibly be left exposed.

An old floor was discovered under the present one, doubtless the original floor of the present building. Under this were traces of what appear to be the remains of a still more ancient building.

The frescoes of the Demala Maha Seya were roofed with cad-jans, the brickwork of the so-called Dhatu Mandiraya at Anuradhapura was repointed and the stones reset, and the minor repairs were carried out at the Kiri Vihara and Potgul Vihara.

A rapid survey was undertaken of the Jaffna Peninsula, Mantai, the environs of Kurunegalle and the coast between Chilaw and Puttalam, where a clay figure had been found by Mr. Mason of the Railway Construction Department. The figure is similar to certain clay figures in the Colombo Museum, but no clue exists at present as to its period or origin.

#### CHALMERS' ORIENTAL TEXT FUND.

The second part of the Papanca Sudani is in course of active preparation at present and it is hoped that it will be published shortly.

#### GENERAL.

The Wijeyesinha Turnour Edition of the *Mahawansa* has been out of print for some time, and a new edition is required. Government have already issued a fresh translation of the *Mahawansa* proper by Prof. Geiger. Arrangements had been made before the war for a translation of the latter portion of the work, commonly called the *Suluwansa* by Prof. Geiger and a number of manuscripts from Siam and from the Colombo Museum were sent to him, but of course nothing was done during the war. Government has now asked Dr. Geiger to proceed with the work, and it is hoped that the edition will be issued during 1923.

The Society's journal has been brought almost up to date for the first time for many years. It is hoped to bring it completely up to date this year, and to issue parts regularly each quarter thereafter.

#### FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 1,056.80 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,491.29 and the expenditure was Rs. 3,065.15.

Attention must be invited to the neglect of a large number of members in delaying payment of their subscriptions. The arrears of subscription due by members up to the close of the year was about Rs. 2,762. It will be necessary to take steps to enforce the rule against defaulters.

The balance sheet of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund is annexed showing a balance of Rs. 1,009.50 to the credit of the Society and the balance sheet of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund is also annexed showing a balance of Rs. 923.77, which will be utilized shortly to pay for the translations now being prepared.



Receipts and Payments Account of the.  
**CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**  
 For the Year Ended 31st December, 1921

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1920 ..		66	Charges (For Printing, etc.) ..	1,191	88
Annual Grant for 1920-21 Rs. 500-00			Salaries .. ..	1,351	92
1921-22 ,, 500-00	1,000	00	Sundries .. ..	521	35
			Balance in the Bank ..	1,056	80
Life Membership Commutations ..	84	00			
Sale of Publications .. ..	15	19			
Entrance Fees .. ..	131	25			
Annual Subscription for 1922 Rs. 36-25					
1921 ,, 1,827-00					
1920 ,, 263-50					
1919 ,, 78-75					
1918 ,, 31-50					
1917 ,, 10-50					
1916-15 ,, 13-35	2,260	85			
	Rs.			Rs.	
				4,121	95

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.  
 13th March, 1922.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,  
*Honorary Treasurer,*  
 Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.



## Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund A/c. for the Year 1921

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS		Rs.	Cts.
Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.		
Balance in the Bank ..	1,419 15	Colonial Storekeeper (For Paper Supplied) ..	409 65		
		Balance in the Bank ..	1,009 50		
Rs.	1,419 15		Rs.	1,419 15	

Audited and found correct.  
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,  
13th March, 1922.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,  
*Honorary Treasurer,*  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Receipts and Payments Account of the  
Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund A/c. for the Year 1921

RECEIPTS		Ra.	Cts.	PAYMENTS		Ra.	Cts.
Cash received from the Government				Cheque Book	..	1	50
..				Dr. Lionel Giles	..	74	73
..				Balance in the Bank	..	923	77
Rs.		1,000	00			1,000	00

Audited and found correct.  
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,  
13th March, 1922.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,  
*Honorary Treasurer,*  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

3. On a motion proposed by Mr. G. E. Harding and seconded by Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor, the following Office-bearers for 1922 were elected:—

*President:*

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam.

*Vice-President:*

Dr. P. E. Pieris, LitD., C.C.S.

*Members of Council:*

**NEW MEMBERS.**

Prof. R. Marrs.  
Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam,  
Dr. A. Nell.

**RE-ELECTED.**

Mr. A. M. Hocart.  
„ L. J. B. Turner.  
„ D. B. Jayatilaka.  
Dr. W. A. de Silva.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

4. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., read a paper on "The Daily Routine of Parakrama Bahu II."

5. A discussion followed, in which Mr. John Senaveratne, Dr. A. Nell, Mr. W. Samarasinghe, Atapattu Mudaliyar, Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar, and Sir P. Arunáchalam took part.

6. Votes of thanks to the speaker and to H. E. the Governor (Chairman), brought the meeting to a close.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 17, 1922.*

## Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.,

Vice-President.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ F. Lewis, F.L.S.

„ Robert Marrs, M.A.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. C. Rasanayagam,

Mudaliyar.

„ L. J. B. Turner,

M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 11th May, 1922, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected members of the Society, viz:—T. D. Perera, L.L.B., C.C.S.; Roland de Zoysa, B.Sc. (Lond.), M.B.A.C., F.C.S.; P. Vythialingam; K. C. Nathan; D. W. Moonasingha; V. E. Charavanamuttu; Suppar Periathambi; A. P. A. Jayawardana; C. Kumarasingha; E. W. Ekanayaka; E. B. Wickramanayaka.

The application of Mr. J. de S. Abeyewickrama was referred back for further consideration.

3. The following notes were laid on the table, viz:—On Greeving's Diary, The Chief Executioner of Major Davie and the Literary Undertakings of the late Simon Casichitty, by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi, and were referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and F. Lewis for report as to whether these papers should be published in the Journal.

4. The following vote of condolence was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing.

Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, J.P., be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of the late Mudaliyar's family.

5. The Honorary Treasurer reported to the Council that the subscription of many members was seriously in arrears, and that it was in consequence very difficult to carry on the work of the Society. It was decided that these members be requested to pay their subscriptions at once, and that a list of those who failed to do so be prepared for submission to the Council under Rule 33, the names of those struck off by the Council to be published in the Journal.



## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 17, 1922*

## Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.M.G., V.D.,  
in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President.

Miss Norah C. Carter.

Mr. P. M. A. Corea.

The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.

Mr. T. Gracie.

„ G. E. Harding, B.Sc.

„ A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ Sam J. C. Kadirgamar.

„ Robert Marrs, M.A.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. S. A. Pakeman.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.

„ G. L. Rupesingha.

„ E. Reimers.

„ C. Rasanayagam,  
Mudaliyar.

„ F. A. Tissaverasingha.

„ L. J. B. Turner,  
M.A., C.C.S.

„ A. Wickremasingha.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Visitors: 15 gentlemen and 6 ladies.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 10th July, 1922, were read and confirmed.

2. A Dutch panel recently purchased by Government and placed in the Colombo Museum was exhibited.\*

3. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam read the following paper entitled "The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers."

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\* See page 150 of Journal R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXVIII,  
No. 74—1921.

## THE TAMIL KINGDOM OF JAFFNA AND THE EARLY GREEK WRITERS

By C. RĀSANĀYAGAM MUDALIYAR

'The proverbial wealth of 'Ormus and of Ind. of the utmost Indian isle Taprobane' had from the remote past so excited the cupidity of merchants and mariners that they braved the dangers of the deep even in their little vessels and sailed to the 'gorgeous East' in search of her 'barbaric pearl and gold.' In the shallow waters of North Ceylon they found safe anchorage and protection from the winds and storms of the Arabian Sea and of the Bay of Bengal during the monsoons; and this meeting place developed in course of time into the emporium of the East. While the Indian ports offered their own produce and received the goods of other countries, the marts in North Ceylon not only supplied their own goods and received foreign merchandise, but also served as a centre for the distribution of trade between the Far East and the Far West. In the words of Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk who lived in the early part of the sixth century A.D. 'Sieledaba (Ceylon) being thus placed in the middle as it were of India, received goods from all nations and again distributed them, thus becoming a great emporium.'\*

The exact site of this ancient emporium has been discussed by eminent scholars on several occasions with no satisfactory result. Bertolacci and Pridham thought that it was somewhere in the north-western coast, Sir Emerson Tennent located it at Point De Galle, Valentyn and Col. Yule though not satisfied with previous identifications, yet were not able to suggest anything new. Mr. H. Neville in more recent years surmised that it was

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\* Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 570, quotation from Cosmas.

close to Kalpitiya. A fresh attempt, therefore, to locate this emporium with some degree of certainty, will not, I hope, be considered to be presumptuous, or without justification.

In remote antiquity, the coasting trade from one half of Asia to the other half passed by the deep passages across the Adam's Bridge, or by the Straits of Mannar, and consequently a great port must have risen on the north-west coast of Ceylon. The existence of the extensive ruins at Mátota and of the celebrated Giant's Tank close to it are indubitable signs of an immense population well advanced in agriculture. This tank is apparently the most ancient work extant in Ceylon, so ancient that it is not mentioned as having been built by any of the kings who reigned in Ceylon after Vijaya. Giant's Tank must therefore have been the work of the remotest times constructed probably by the ancient Nágas, who were the people then living in that part of Ceylon. It was the earliest attraction to the traders of Phœnicia, Egypt and Arabia, and an index of the early civilisation and prosperity of the people.

The proof of this prosperity is the existence of a large number of ruins along the western coast, commencing from Munnésvaram in Chilaw, (a temple mentioned in the Rámáyana as one at which Ráma worshipped during his invasion of Lanka) and extending northward through the districts of Puttalam, Ponparippu, Nánattán, Musali, Mátota, Vidattaltivu, Pallavaráyankattu, Púnakari, Kalmunai, and Jaffna. The ancient names of some of this chain of ruined towns are Tammanná Nagaram, Tavirikia Nagaram, Acá Nagaram, Kudiramalai, Mántai (Mátota), Arasapuram and Kadiramalai. In addition to stone pillars carved and uncarved and bricks and tiles, large quantities of beads, bangles and other ornaments of vari-coloured glass are found mixed with the soil in almost all these ruins. Of these Mántai and Kadiramalai (Kanteródai) are the most



important. Mántai is a hill of piled up ruins. This interesting spot, which would probably have yielded sufficient evidence of the trade relations that existed in ancient times between the East and the West, was altogether neglected by the Archæological Department. Instead of being conserved for careful investigation it was sold by Government to the Náttukóttai Chetties who, in their search for the site of the ancient temple of Tirukétisvaram, have committed such acts of vandalism that the possibilities of a scientific investigation hereafter are reduced to a minimum. As for Kadiramalai, archæological research is no longer possible as the entire area which contains the ruins has passed into the hands of private proprietors. Large quantities of beads of various kinds and fragments of necklaces of different shapes and sizes, made of glass and coral, cornelian and agate, jade and alumina, with holes perforated to be strung together, had been found here\*. A large number of ancient coins, both Roman and Indian, have also been picked up. These finds have almost all been confined to the western portion of the village, which should represent the residential quarters of royalty, while temples and sacred buildings seem to have been placed more towards the East. The coins and beads picked up in such large quantities point to the length of time the city must have served as the capital of a kingdom and the centre of a large population, floating and permanent, attracted to the place by foreign trade.

Before the use of the compass was known, when mariners could not safely venture far out to sea but were forced to hug the coast, the ships sailing from the Malabar to the Coromandel Coast had no other alternative than to pass *via* Dhanushkóti or through the Straits of Mannar, as it was impracticable to go round the

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\* The beads, etc., were inspected by Professor Flinders Petrie at Dr. Nell's request. The Professor is certain that they are Egyptian of the Ptolemaic period and came by way of trade between Egypt and Ceylon.

South of the Island of Ceylon, without undue precariousness and delay due to the annual monsoons. Even now, when navigation is much improved, the Jaffna vessels which ply between Ceylon and the Coromandel Coast effect only one voyage in the year and wait for the other monsoon for their return home. If, therefore, in former times, the navigators found it difficult to go round Ceylon without wasting the greater part of the year in the needless venture, it is but right to suppose that they would have resorted to the Straits of Mannar and the Jaffna Lagoon. At first, when the vessels were small and extremely light and the Straits, which later became gradually silted up, were navigable for such vessels, mariners would have passed through these seas to the Coast of Coromandel, but afterwards, when larger vessels of heavier tonnage came into use, the emporiums *en route* at Mátota and Jaffna would have become a necessity. The merchants too, who hailed from Arabia, Persia and the Malabar Coast, would have preferred to dispose of their goods at these depôts and to return home laden with the produce of Ceylon and the Coromandel, at the change of the monsoon. Numberless establishments would have therefore arisen at Mátota and Jaffna to serve the requirements of this active cosmopolitan commerce. It must have been this flourishing trade that made a powerful and popular state grow and expand in so unproductive and uncongenial a part of the Island as Mátota, as it must have been the decline of that trade that made them abandon the town to its present state of barrenness and desolation.

The Phœnicians, the Arabs, the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans from the West, the Chinese, the Javanese and the Burmese from the East, not to speak of the nations of India, vied with each other at various times to monopolise the trade of North Ceylon.

Casie Chetty in his History of Jaffna says: "There can be no doubt the commercial intercourse of the Greeks



and the Romans with Ceylon was confined to the Northern and North-western parts."\* The people of the Coromandel coast had from time immemorial, intimate commercial intercourse with the coasts of North Ceylon. Many came and settled down in these ports carrying on a brisk trade and forming connections with families of the same caste as themselves, as can still be seen at Point Pedro and Valvettiturai.

It is on record that about a thousand years before the Christian era the fleets of King Solomon piloted by the adventurous and experienced seamen of Phœnicia called at the seaports of South India and Ceylon in search of materials for the building of the great temple of Jerusalem and carried away gold, algum trees and precious stones from Ophir. The King's ships also went to Tarshish and "every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks."†

Ophir has been supposed to be identical with Tarshish, and it has been conjectured, not without reason, that Ophir was the country of which Tarshish was the seaport.‡ The site of Tarshish has been identified by Sir Emerson Tennent as Point De Galle in the South of Ceylon§ and Ophir by Cunningham as Sauvira in the western coast of India. If the port of Tarshish was in Ceylon at all and not on the Western coast of India it was not certainly Galle, but a place on the North-western coast of Ceylon. Ophir, it was suggested, is derived from the Greek word "Óphis," meaning a serpent and the word for serpent in Hebrew was also supposed to be the same. It was therefore thought that Ophir designated the country of the Nágas, but the

\* Casie Chetty's History of Jaffna, Journal C.B., R.A.S., Vol. I.

† I. Kings, chap. x., v. 22; II. Chronicles, chap. xx., v. 21.

‡ The Taprobanian, Vol. II., p. 10.

§ Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. xx.; p. 554 note I; Vol. II., p. 102.



latter was not located at all.\* If the derivation was correct Ophir was certainly no other than the Northern part of Ceylon, which was several centuries before historical times populated by the Nágas, but the derivation is not correct. Although the Greek word "Óphis" means a serpent, yet the Hebrew word for serpent "Náchâsh" or "Sârâph" has no phonetic similarity to Ophir. As it was the Hebrews and not the Greeks who called the place Ophir, to resort to the Greek term "Óphis" for elucidation would be an error.

I venture to suggest, however, Ophir was the country of the "Óviyar," a tribe of Nágas who lived in and around Mántai (Mátota) as will be seen from *Cirupápárupadaí*, a Tamil Sanga work referred to later. The phonetic similarity between Ophir and Óviyar is certainly striking: and Ophir must have been borrowed in the same manner as the Hebrew words for ivory, apes, aghil and peacocks, *Ibha*, *Kapi*, *Ahalim* and *Tukeyim* respectively, which are identical with their Tamil names *Ipam*, *Kapi*, *Aghil* and *Tokai*.† The Hebrew mariners no doubt borrowed the names from the Tamil inhabitants of the port from which they obtained them. In the same manner the Greeks carried away rice, ginger and cinnamon with their names *Oriza*, *Gingiber* and *Karpion* which are identical with their Tamil names *Arisi*, *Inchivér* and *Karuva* perhaps from the same port. These Tamil names could have been obtained only from the ports in South India or North Ceylon as Tamil was not spoken either in Galle or Sauvira.

If Ophir was really the country of the Óviyar, and there is no reason why it should not be, the port can be identified as Mántai (Mátota) which was also known as Tirukétisvaram whence perhaps the corrupted form Tarshish. Tirukétisvaram means the "holy shrine (of Siva)" worshipped by Kétu the noble serpent (*cauda*

\* The Taprobanian, Vol. II., p. 10.

† Tamils 1,800 years ago, by V. Kanagasabai, chap. iii., p. 31.

*draconis*) of mythology, thus proving that the shrine was built and worshipped by the Nágas from very early times. Ivory, apes and peacocks could have been easily obtained at Mátota coast, and peacocks though found now only in the Mátota District, yet were abundant in the islands of the Jaffna sea even so late as the time of Baldeus,\* and were exterminated by the Dutch who found them a table delicacy.

The trade along the coast of India and Ceylon several centuries before the Christian era remained in the hands of the Arabs and was long jealously guarded by them against the encroachments of other nations by the sedulous dissemination of fabulous and blood-curdling stories of the dangers of navigation. The baobab trees that form a special feature in the landscape of Mannar and Mántai, perhaps the *tree-totems* of these early Arabs, testify to the truth not only of their ancient settlements in those parts but also of their animistic worship.

One Hippalus, a seaman in the reign of the Emperor Claudius (about 47 A.D.), observing the steady prevalence of the monsoons, discovered the shorter route across the Indian ocean to the shores of India and Ceylon. Since then the trade with the West attained extensive proportions, and the knowledge of Ceylon, which in the time of the earlier writers like Megasthenes and Strabo was very meagre, increased to such an extent as to produce the comparatively fuller descriptions of Pliny written within 20 years of the discovery of Hippalus.

About 59 A.D., when Claudius was Emperor of Rome, a ship in which the freedman of Annius Plocamus was sent to collect the revenue of Arabia, was caught by the monsoon and carried to Hippuros, a point which is still known by its Tamil equivalent, Kudiramalai, and which was at the time a landmark of Ceylon for

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\* Baldeus Ceylon, chap. xlv.

In Pungardiva, there was an abundance of deer, does, buffaloes and pea-fowl. Ribeyro's History of Ceylon, chap. xxv.



those who navigated the Arabian seas. Here, the mariners were kindly received by the people and taken before their King, who treated them hospitably and on hearing from them of the greatness and magnificence of Rome, wished to make an alliance with the Roman Emperor and sent an embassy consisting of four persons, the chief of whom was one named Rachia, to the Court of Claudius.\* That the mariners easily found their bearings and knew their way back home is a fair indication of the previous intercourse which existed between that port and the Red Sea. Although the ship touched a point near Kudiramalai, it would have been easy thence to reach the then chief port of Mántai (Mátota) or Jaffna. The sailors would not have taken an embassy nor would the members of the embassy have entrusted themselves to the ship unless they were assured of the way home. From these envoys Pliny learnt that there were "five hundred towns in the island, of which the chief was Palæsimunda, the residence of the King, with a population of two hundred thousand Souls." They also spoke of "a lake called Magisba of vast magnitude giving rise to two rivers, one flowing by the capital and the other northwards towards the continent of India." These also described the coral which abounds in the Gulf of Mannar.† Cassie Chetty in his early history of Jaffna conjectured that Palæsimunda was Jaffna Patan and that Rachia, the ambassador who went to the Court of Claudius, was a Tamil *Arachchiar* sent by the King of Jaffna, similar to the one (Sellappo Arachchi) sent later by Bhuwaneka Bahu VI. to the Court of Lisbon,‡ and not a Rajah as fancied by Sir Emerson Tennent,||

\* Pliny, liber vi., chap. xxiv., MacCrindle's translation.

† Cassie Chetty's History of Jaffna, Journal C.B.R.A.S., Vol. I.

‡ It is stated that the King of Cotta caused a figure of his grandson, who was later known as Don Juan Dharmapala, to be made of gold and sent the same by one Sellappo Araeci to be delivered to the King of Portugal. The golden image was with great pomp crowned by the king at Lisbon. Upham's Rajavali, p. 286.

|| Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 556.



quite apart from the inherent improbability of a king embarking on an embassy to so distant a country.

The anonymous author of the *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea seems to have gone on his travels within a few years of Pliny's death\* for his knowledge of Ceylon, except that of the Northern portion, appears to have been very faint, but when Ptolemy compiled his great work about 150 A.D. the correct and minute details of Ceylon as given by him are clear indications of the extensive information gained by the traders of his period. To understand clearly the meaning of the statement made by Ptolemy, it will be better to quote in full the several passages as given in the translation of his work so far as it relates to the Northern portion of Ceylon, with which alone we are at present concerned.

He says:—

Book VII., Chapter iv., Section 1, "Opposite Cape Cory, which is in India, is the projecting point of the Island of Taprobane, which was called formerly Simoundou, and now Salike. The inhabitants are commonly called Selai."

Book VII., Chapter iv., Section 2, "The point already referred to as lying opposite to Cory is called North cape (Boreion Akron) and lies.

long.  $126^{\circ}$  and lat.  $12^{\circ}.30''$ "

Book VII., Chapter iv., Section 3, "The descriptive outline of the rest of the Island is as follows:—  
After the North cape, situated in long.  $126^{\circ}$  and lat.  $12.30'$  comes

	Long.	Lat.
Cape Galiba	... $124^{\circ}$	$11^{\circ}.30'$
Margana, a town	... $123^{\circ}.30'$	$10^{\circ}.20'$
Iogana, a town	... $123^{\circ}.20'$	$8^{\circ}.60'$
Anarismoundou, a cape	... $122^{\circ}$	$7^{\circ}.45'$
Mouth of the river Ganges	$129^{\circ}$	$7^{\circ}.20'$
The source of the river	... $127^{\circ}$	$7^{\circ}.15'$

\* \* The date of the *Periplus* has been determined recently by Mr. J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 106.

	Long.	Lat.
Spatana Haven ...	129°	8°.00'
Nagadiba or Nagadiva, a town	129°	8°.30'
Pati Bay ...	128°.30'	9°.30'
Anoubingara, a town ...	128°.20'	9°.40'
Modouttou, a mart ...	128°	11°.20'
Mouth of the river Phasis	127°	11°.20'
The sources of the river ...	126°	8°.00'
Talacory or Aakote, a mart	126°.20'	11°.20'
after which the north cape."		

Then follows a description of the mountains, rivers, the people, the inland towns and the islands. Of the people are mentioned the Nagadiboi as living in the East and the Negeiroi on the South.

Of the inland towns Poudouke	Long.	Lat.
situate at	124°	3°.40'
and Nakadouba	128°.30' on the line	
and of the islands, Nagadiba	135°	8°.30'
are mentioned.		

Again he says:—

In Book I., Chapter 13, "Beyond the cape called Cory, where the Kolkhic Gulf terminates, the Argaric Gulf begins and the distance thence to the city of Kouroula, which is situate to the north-east of Cory is 3,400 stadia. The distance right across may, therefore, be estimated at about 2,030 stadia, since we have to deduct a third because of the navigation having followed the curvature of the Gulf, and have also to make allowances for irregularities in the length of the courses run. If now we further reduce this amount by a third, because the sailing, though subject to interruption was taken as continuous, there remain 1,350 stadia, determining the position of Kouroula as situated north-east from Cory."

In Book VII., Chapter 1, are described the towns in Damurike.

“Section 11, Land of Pandian:—

In the Orgalic Gulf, Cape Cory called also  
Kalligikon.

Argeirou, a town.

Salour, a mart.”

“Section 12, Country of the Batoi:—

Nikama, the metropolis.

Thelkeir.

Kouroula, a town.”

“Section 13, In Paralia specially so called: the  
country of Toringoi:—

Mouth of the river Khaberis.

Khaberis, an emporium.

Sabouras, an emporium.”

Before discussing the identification of the places mentioned by Ptolemy, it will be advantageous here to quote the description found in the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea, as it will be of great assistance in such identification.

After giving a description of the roadsteads on the western coast of India, it proceeds as follows:—

“After Bakari occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the South near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are, which belongs to King Pandian) and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar where is the cape of the same name and a haven. From Komari towards the South the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name Argalou. In this single place is obtained pearls collected near the island of Epiodorus. From it are exported the muslins called **ebargareitides.**”



“Among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which merchants from Damurike and the north resort, the most conspicuous are Kamara and Podouke and Sopatma which occur in the order in which we have named them. In these marts are found those native vessels for coasting voyages which trade as far as Damurike and another kind called **sangara** made by fastening together large vessels formed each of single timber and also others called **Kolondiphonta**, which are of great bulk and employed for voyages to Khruse and the Ganges. These marts import all the commodities which reach Damurike for commercial purposes, absorbing likewise nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt, and most descriptions of all the goods exported from Damurike and disposed of in this Coast of India.”

“Near the region which succeeds, where the course of the voyage now leads to the East, there lies out in the open sea, stretching towards the west, the island now called Palaisimounda, but by the ancients, Taprobane. To cross over to the Northern side of it takes a day. In the south part it gradually stretches towards the west till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania. It produces pearl, precious (transparent) stones, muslins, and tortoise shell.”

As Ptolemy was not a traveller and himself never visited the Island or the other places mentioned in his work, but obtained all his information from merchants, strict accuracy of detail in the modern sense could not be expected in his description of the seacoast not only of India but also of Ceylon, the latter of which would have presented to him great difficulties of comprehension on account of the several islands between which navigation had to be accomplished and of the many turns and twists due to the sinuous nature of the coast. As his ambition was to give a geographical description of the places in terms of longitudes and latitudes, he possibly

constructed a map in accordance with the fragmentary hearsay material in his possession, marked the places on it and then proceeded to draw the latitudes and longitudes before giving a description of the places themselves in his book. Although his latitudes and longitudes are not quite correct, yet to have drawn a map comparatively so free from errors as he did, borders on the marvellous. Even the Portuguese in the sixteenth century did not give as correct a map of Ceylon as Ptolemy did in the second century A.D.

A map of the coast lines of South India and of North Ceylon, constructed from geographical information supplied by Ptolemy, is appended. From it a very fair knowledge of the conception of Ptolemy can be obtained. According to him the Jaffna Peninsula, which was then an island, was considered to be on the coast of India and the island of Nágadipa, by which name it was then known, was placed very far to the east in the Bay of Bengal. The Elephant Pass Lagoon was made into a broad sea thus proving that the mariners from the west never visited the ports on the northern coast of the peninsula, but used the lagoon as the great roadway to enter the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy's mistakes are certainly excusable. The names of places though not their positions may be taken as correct, and they should be identified with reference to the course of navigation or by comparison with the description given in the *Periplus*.

The several scholars who attempted to identify and locate the places mentioned by the Greek authors were not sure of the course taken by the early Western navigators, and had the advantage neither of local knowledge nor of the assistance afforded by recent archaeological discoveries. They have therefore identified some of the towns situated in North Ceylon as towns in South India under the supposition that when those early navigators passed Cape Comorin they hugged the Indian coast till they reached Coromandel, whereas the mariners actually crossed over to Ceylon and sailed through the Elephant Pass Lagoon to the Bay of Bengal



and then northward to the Coromandel Coast. That is how the existence of the river Phasis, as they called *Kanagarayan Aru*, the only river in Ceylon which flows northwards, could have come to their knowledge.

What the unknown author of the *Periplus* knew of Ceylon was even more limited. After making a passing mention of Ceylon he goes on to say that "it (Ceylon) gradually stretches towards the west till it nearly reaches the opposite coast of Azania," which is Africa, thereby showing that he had at no time circumnavigated Ceylon. Mr. Casie Chetty was therefore not far wrong when he said that the commercial intercourse of the Greeks and of the Romans was confined to the Northern Kingdom.

Komar, Kolkhoi and Salour have been correctly identified; Komar as Cape Comorin and the other two as Korakai and Saliyūr, the celebrated towns in South India referred to in Tamil poems of the first Sangam. Korakai was the headquarters of the Pandiyan to carry on the pearl fisheries belonging to his kingdom, and the *Periplus* offers the interesting piece of information "that they are worked by condemned criminals." Korakai was also the residence of the Pandiyan sub-king.

The Cape Cory of Ptolemy has also been properly identified as Kōṭi or Dhanuskōṭi in the Island of Rāmés-varam, but his North Cape "Boreion Akron" lying opposite to it cannot be the one on the north coast of the Jaffna Peninsula. It must have been at Talaimannar where the railway line now ends. The author actually took that as the northern point of Ceylon and thought that the coasts proceeding south and north from Mannar did really project westward and eastward respectively.

Ptolemy appears to have thought that Simondou was the old name of Ceylon, but according to the *Periplus* Ceylon was then known as Palaisimoundou, whereas according to the informants of Pliny it was the name of the chief town and the royal residence "with a population of two hundred thousand souls." Many a learned writer has attempted to elucidate this name, some taking



it as a Pali or Sanskrit word\* and others holding that at one time Ceylon was really called Simondou. The word obviously represented the Tamil name "*Palai silamandalam*." Ceylon was known to the ancient Tamils as *Īlam* and *Īlamandalam*: and it has continued to be so known to the present day. From *Īlam* came *Sīlam*, *Sihalam* and *Sinhālam*, and from *Sīlam* came "Zeilon" of the Portuguese, "Ceilan" and "Seilon" of the Dutch and "Ceylon" of the English. The island was also known as Heladiva or Heludiva, as Elu was the language of the inhabitants and it probably received the name *Īlam* from the same source. From Heladiva came Sihaladiva, perhaps shortened from Sri Heladiva and hence Sielediba and Ceilediba of the mediæval writers. From *Sīlamdīpa* came *Serendib* of the Arabs. The name Salike for the island and Salai for the people, as stated by Ptolemy, must have been corruptions of *Sīlam* or *Sinhālam*.

When the Greek traders came to Ceylon, they heard, perhaps from the lips of the Tamils who preponderated at the seaports, that the Island which was

\* Vincent, the translator of the Periplus, quoting from another writer, says that Palaisimoundo represented Parashri Mandalam, Parashri being the Indian Bacchus whom the king worshipped!

a On Palaesimoundou Pridham has the following note:—"The Palaesi mundi oppidum of the ancients is thought by some to have been situate in the Jaffna Peninsula, but its precise situation remains to be determined. It is described by the Rachia, the ambassador to the Court of Claudius, as being the principal city, and having a capacious harbour, which would almost induce one to look for it on the north-west coast of Ceylon. The theory of Forbes who traces its etymology to the Sinhalese words *palacia* lower, and *mandhala* province, in which case it may be freely rendered "lowlands," in allusion to the general division of the Kandyan districts, into *Udacia* and *Palacia*, upper and lower, is very ingenious and, even suggestive, but can it legitimately be made to extend to a Malabar Province?" Pridham's Ceylon, Vol. II., p. 511.

b "Palai-Simundu, Lassen conjectures to be derived from the Sanskrit Pali-Simanta, 'the head of the sacred law,' from Ceylon having become the great centre of Buddhist faith." Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 549, note 1.

c A contributor to the Indian Antiquary thinks that the original of Palaesimundon was **Parasamudra** which was the island of Sinhala (Ceylon) according to the commentator of the Artha Sastra of Kautilya as the gems from Ceylon were called **Parasamudra**. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVII., pp. 195-196.

formerly called *Īla Maṇḍalam* or *Sīla Maṇḍalam* or *Palaya Sīlī Maṇḍalam* (Palaya in Tamil means old) was then called *Tamraparnī* and therefore they wrote that the island's former name was Palai Simondou dropping the syllable "la" in Sīla, and that the present name was Taprobane. The name Taprobane was mentioned by the Greek writers and in one of the Asoka edicts. Onesicrates, who lived about 400 years before Ptolemy was the first to mention it. Two centuries only had then passed after the advent of Vijaya and his followers, and the Pali name Tambapanne, if its derivation as stated in the Mahavāṃsa be true, would not have then come into use, and even if it did, it could not have possibly become so current considering the fixity of Indian habits and grooves of thought, as to have been in common use at the ports where the Tamils were predominant. It is more probable therefore that the name was borrowed by the Greeks from the Tamil Tāmraparnī. Tāmraparnī, of which the Pali form was Tambapanne, had nothing to do with the copper coloured sand and the palms of the original Kalinga immigrants, a fanciful derivation of the author of the Mahavāṃsa,\* but was a name given to Ceylon by the Tamil immigrants from the Tinnevely District through which runs the river called to this day Tāmraparnī. The North-western coast of Ceylon being opposite to the mouth of that river the name would have readily suggested itself to those early immigrants.

If we take the earlier statement in the Mahavāṃsa that Vijaya "landed in the division of Tambapanne of the land of Lanka"† as a proof that that part of Ceylon where he landed was then known as Tāmraparnī,‡ and that the earlier Greek traders used to

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\* Mahavāṃsa, chap. vii.

† Ibid, chap. vi.

‡ Tambapanne being originally a South Indian name, it is quite possible that this appellation was bestowed on the country long previous to Vijaya's landing.



call at a port there and applied that name to the whole island of Ceylon, then the correctness of the statement made in the *Periplus* that Ceylon was then called Palaisimoundou, but by the ancients Taprobane, will be apparent. As Pliny was the first to make mention of the name Palaisimunda, Taprobane was certainly the more ancient name. Chāṇakya, the author of *Arthasāstra* written in the 4th century B.C., mentions two varieties of pearls called “Pāṇḍiya Kavādaka” and “Tāmravarnika.” The former must have been pearls fished on the Indian coast, when Kavādapuram was the capital of the Pāṇḍiyan country, and the latter those fished off the coast of Ceylon. This confirms the theory that one of Ceylon’s earliest names was Tāmraparni—so early that it was even so known before Kavādapuram was destroyed by an inundation of the sea. As the name Tāmraparni or Taprobane is now lost and the name Ilamaṇḍalam still exists, the correct rendering would be as stated in the *Periplus* and not as stated by Ptolemy, the prefix “Palai” being wrongly applied. It is, however, curious that the wrong prefix “palai” should have been applied to Simoundou instead of to Taprobane by the two persons Pliny, and the unknown author of the *Periplus*. Is it in imitation of Megasthenes who called the people of Ceylon Palaioḡonoi, which is undoubtedly a corruption of Palai Nāḡoi (palaya Nāḡar—ancient Nāḡas)?

The derivations given by the Sinhalese chronicler to Tambapanne and Sihalām\* are fanciful, and not probable. The people of Ceylon came to be called Sinhalese not because they were the descendents of the lion, but because they populated the land called Ilam, Sīlam, Sihalām or Sīhaḷām. The story of a lion living with a princess was too wild a piece of romance even for the sixth or the seventh century B.C. Legends of this nature belong to a much earlier age, and the fact that

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\* Mahavāṇsa, chap. vii.



Vijaya's grandfather was known as Sīpha made it easy for the author of the Mahavāṃsa to make up a fanciful derivation for the word Sīphaḷam. As for Tambapanne, *Tamba* is copper and *Panna* may also mean the palm of the hand, and imagination supplied the connection between the two.

The phonetic similarity tempts one also to conjecture that Palaisi mondou was a corruption of *Pisāsu mundal* (devil's point) which is a promontory in Pallavarāyankattu. This promontory would have been prominently brought to the notice of the early mariners and they would not have been slow to apply that name to the chief town, to the river on which it was situate and lastly to the island itself. There are several promontories on the west coast called by the Tamil name *Mundal*, and Ptolemy himself mentions one of the name of Anarismondou.

The lake Megisba of vast magnitude, referred to by Pliny, must have been the Giant's Tank (Tamil—Mahāvāvi) and the two rivers rising from it, one flowing by the capital and the other towards the continent of India must have been the Pālāvi, the waste weir of Giant's Tank, which flowed by the side of Mātota and the Kanagarāyan Āru, which is still flowing northward. The Greeks called the latter "the river Phasis," perhaps finding certain points of similarity with the river of that name flowing through the district of Colchis and falling into the Black Sea. The envoys who went to the Court of Claudius must have been under the impression that the river had its source in the Giant's Tank.

The island of Epiodorus is probably the island of Mannar, as there is no other island near which pearl oysters are fished in this region. The extensive trade in pearls which existed in the first century A.D. can be easily seen from a quotation from Pliny. He says: "Our ladies glory in having pearls suspended from their fingers or two or three of them dangling from their ears, delighted even with the rattling of the pearls as they

knocked against each other; and now at the present day the poor classes are even affecting them as people are in the habit of saying that a pearl worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her. Nay, even more than this, they put them on their feet and that not only on the laces of their sandals but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls but they must tread upon them and walk with under foot as well.”\*

The district of Paralia is wrongly located both by Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus. The former called it the country of the Toringoi (Telungar or Chólangar—Chólas) and places it about the mouth of the river Kávéri, and the towns mentioned by him as being situate in that district are also Chóla towns. The latter locates it at the southernmost portion of the Indian Peninsula although somewhat more correctly he places it near the pearl fisheries.

*Árkali* is a Tamil word meaning “the resounding sea” and therefore applied to “the ocean,”† *Parakali* or *Parankali*, from the root *Para*, meaning “to spread,” “to extend,” or “to be diffused” representing “the broad sea” is the opposite term of *árkali* and therefore applied to the shallow sea. These names appear to have been applied to the lands adjoining these seas also. Ptolemy calls the sea to the north of Rámés-varam, Orgalic Gulf, undoubtedly the Tamil word *Árkali*, and also the country on the Indian coast adjoining it, whereas the country on the opposite coast is called “Argalou” by the author of the Periplus.

The portion of the mainland of Ceylon extending from Aripu to Punakari was in ancient times called Parankali and afterwards corrupted to “Perunkali.” The

\* Pliny, chap. ix—54. (Mac Crindle's translation.)

† “ஆர்கலி இரு தென்கிழக்கமாக.”

Tiruvácakam, Kuyil pattu, v. 2.

Ceylon surrounded by the resounding sea.

அ ஆர்கலி முழுவீர்திகர்கோமரன்

Pura Nándru, v. 91, by Oruvaiyár.

The Chera king Adikan whose drum is the resounding sea.



district of *Viḍattaltivu* was called *Pringally* during the early years of the British rule,\* the district of *Mátota* was called *Peringally* by Baldeus,† and that portion of the mainland lying opposite to the Island of Mannar is still called *Perunkalipattu*. *Pringally*, *Peringaly* and *Perunkali* are but variations of *Parankali*, or *Parakali* and *Paralia* mentioned by Ptolemy and in the *Periplus* must therefore represent this district.

Section 12, Chapter 1, of Book vii of Ptolemy should therefore read:—**In Paralia**, specially so called—the country of the *Batoi*

*Nikama*—the metropolis

*Thelkeir*

*Kouroula*—a town

and in section 13 the words “*Paralia* specially so called” must be deleted, and it should read

**In the Country of *Toringol***

Mouth of the river *Kaberos*

*Kaberis*, an emporium

*Sabouras*, an emporium

*Batoi* is the Greek term for *Védar* (huntsmen) who must have resided in the interior. The *Moudouttoi* and the *Nagadiboi* would have been in fact the people residing in this district, but Ptolemy locates them elsewhere and calls the people living in this locality *Galiboi*.

It was this district of *Paralia* which contained the marts and anchorages along the shore to which the merchants from *Damurike* and the north resorted. It is wrong to conclude that the words “this shore” in the

\* “In 1810 the district of *Pringally* or as it is commonly called the district of *Werteltivu* and the port of *Werteltivu* were separated from the Mannar Collectorate and attached to that of the *Wanni*.”

Historical Sketch of the *Wanni*, M.L.R. Vol. I., p. 26.

† “*Mantote* begins to the north of the salt river near the village of *Peringally* extending to the south along the seashore as far as the river *Aripouture*.”

*Baldeus' Ceylon*, chap. xlv.

There is evidently a mistake in this sentence as the words *Mantote* and *Peringally* should be transposed.



sentence "among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which the merchants from Damurike and the north resort" found in the *Periplus* are intended to mean the Indian coast. *Damurike* represents *Tamīlakam* (தமிழகம்) the Tamil country in South India, and if the marts were in the Indian coast *Damurike* need not be separately mentioned. By north is meant the country near the mouth of the Ganges. This shore is further described as "another coast lying along a gulf having a district" in which pearls are collected near the island of *Epidorus*.

The passage in the *Periplus* which refers to this district is rendered by W. H. Schoff, the latest translator of the work, as follows:—

"Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the coast country which lies on a bay and has a region inland called *Argaru*. At this place, and nowhere else, are bought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called *argaritic*."<sup>\*</sup>

The improbability of Schoff's identification of *Argaru* with *Uraiyur*, the Capital of *Chōlamandalam*, will be clear when it is known that *Uraiyur* was not a district but a town, and the *Chōla* Capital about the second half of the first century A.D. was *Kaveripūmpattinam*, and not *Uraiyur*. To the north of *Korkai* there were no towns on the Indian coast connected with the pearl fisheries, whereas there were some on the Ceylon coast. If the language of the above passage is construed to mean the opposite coast of Ceylon and not along the coast of India, the location of the district of *Argaru* or *Argalu* from which pearls were collected and muslins exported will be apparent. The word which Schoff translated as *Argaritic* was perhaps neither *Ārgaritides*, nor *Ebargaritides*, as taken by MacCrindle but *Margaritides* as supposed by Vincent.

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\* J.R.A.S., 1913, 1-132.

For the trade along this shore the most important ports were Kamara, Podouke and Sopatma which should be sought for in the coast of Ceylon and not of India. It would be more correct to say that they were in the district of Paralia or Perunkali. Sopatma is no doubt Sôpatṭanam, which in Tamil means "a fortified town."\* There is a tradition that in very early times there was at Mátota an iron fort with a high tower, on the top of which some attractive women were kept to allure mariners into the harbour, and to entertain them while the *Rakshasa* (Nága) men attacked and plundered the ships.† That there has been such a tradition regarding a magnetic or iron fort at Mántai (Mátota) can be seen from several allusions found in an unpublished Tamil dramatic work called *Vijaya Dharma Nádagam*, composed about the early part of the nineteenth century by one Rama Sunderam, son of Sidambara Udeyár of Vaṇṇárpappai, Jaffna.‡ This iron fort, also referred to in

\* The Tamil word co (சேர) means a fortification

Cf. சேரவின் அருமையறித்த மகன்

Nánmaṇṇikkadikai, v. 2.

The man who destroyed the strength of the fortification.

† The records of the Buddhist religion say:—"In the middle of a great iron city of this Ratnadvipa Pao-cho (was the) dwelling of the Rakshasi woman Lo-p'sa. On the towers of this city they erected two high flagstaves with lucky or unlucky signals, which they exhibited (to allure mariners) according to circumstances when merchants came to the Island Ratnadvipa. Then they changed themselves to beautiful women, holding flowers and scents, and with the sound of music they went forth to meet them and caressingly invited them to enter the iron city, then having shared with them all sorts of pleasure they shut them up in an iron prison, and devoured them at their leisure."

History of the Travels of Hiouen T'sang, M.L.R., Vol. I., page 147.

‡ The following are few out of several allusions to Mántai in *Vijaya Dharma Nádagam*.

a செங்கமல மாலையணி தேயனே மாந்தை ககர்

புகுவனே கந்தமலைப் பூணகெம்பீர மஞ்ஞ

Oh; ruler of the city of Mántai, the valorous Lord of the magnetic mountain, the god who wears the wreath of pink lotus flowers.

b கந்தமாமலைக் கோட்டைமேவிய

காவலன் புகழ் கூறவே



this work as a magnetic mountain, was perhaps the source of the belief among the mediæval Mohammedan writers that there was a magnetic mountain about this region, which drew towards it all the iron nails of the ships sailing close to it, and wrecked them, a belief which is graphically described in the Arabian Nights.\* Tradition also says that the fort at Mántai was built by Visvakarma, the architect of the gods, which must have reached the ears of Pridham when he wrote that a colony of goldsmiths had settled down at Mántai in olden times.† This tradition perhaps supplied the necessary material for the composition of Vijaya Dharma Nádagam.

This iron fort, which continued to be a great menace to the seafaring trade of Ceylon was destroyed, says the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang, by Vijaya.‡ In all probability, however, it was destroyed by Karikála Chóla, the greatest of the early Chóla kings, who conquered Ceylon and carried away a large number of

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To sing the praises of the Lord of the magnetic mountain fort.

சுமார்வைநகருறையோருள் லோகத்தில்  
யாணிபமே புரியோர்  
காத்தமலைக் குரியோர் பஞ்சாநரித்  
கண்ணியர் தோற்றினோ

Of those who dwell in the city of Mántai, who carry on the trade of the inner country and who belong to the magnetic mountain, there appeared the artificers called Kapourar out of the five classes of artisans.

\* The thousand and one nights—the story of the Third Calendar.

† Even so early as the beginning of the fourth century this legend of a loadstone attracting iron bound ships is mentioned by a writer quoted by Sir E. Tennent.

“A thousand other Islands lie adjacent to Ceylon and in a group of these called Maniloae is found the lodestone which attracts iron so that a vessel coming within its influence, is seized and forcibly detained and for this reason the ships which navigate these seas are fastened with pegs of wood instead of bolts of iron.”

Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 563, note.

Maniloae perhaps represent Maqalúr, an ancient name of Jaffna and the islands in the Jaffna seas.

‡ Pridham's Ceylon, Vol. II., chap. i.

§ History of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang M.L.R., Vol. I., page 148.



captives to work on the banks of the Kávéri in the first century A.D.\* It was perhaps after the destruction of this iron fort, that he earned the sobriquet of "the destroyer of the hanging fort" from several Sanga poets.†

In *Cirupāṇārrupadai*, one of the ten idylls of the Sanga period, which describes certain conditions prevailing in the first century A.D., a king called Nalliyakódan is panegyrised by a poet named Nattattanár. Nalliyakódan was one of several kings who ruled over Ceylon (Lanka),‡ with his royal residence at Ámūr||

\* Upham's Rajavali, pp. 220-231.

† தூக்கெயிலெறித்த செம்பியன்

*Cirupāṇārrupadai*, 1-122.

The Chembian (Chóla) who destroyed the hanging fort.

௮ தூக்கெயிலெறித்த தொடித்தோட் செம்பியன்

*Maṇimókalai*.

The Chóla wearing the victorious armlet, who destroyed the hanging fort.

௯ தூக்கெயின் மூன்றெறித்த சோழன் காலம்மாலை

*Chilappadikáram Valtukátai*, l. 4.

The Chóla who destroyed three hanging forts.

௧ ஒன்றாருட்கூடென்ன குக்கெறித்த

தூக்கெயிலெறித்த நின் தூக்கஞேர்

*Pura Nánúru*, v. 39.

Your great ancestor who destroyed the strong and evil doing hanging fort feared by foreigners.

௩ வீக்குதோட் செம்பியன் சேற்றம் வீறல்விசம்பிற்

தாக்குமெயிலுள் தொலைத்தலால்

*Palamoḷi*, v. 49.

The wrath of the broad-shouldered Chembian (Chóla) who destroyed the fort hanging in mid air.

௪ தேக்குதூக் கெயிலெறித்தயவன்

*Kalingatuparani, Rájapárampariam*, v. 17.

He who destroyed the hanging fort that caused fear.

‡ கறுவீ காகமு மஹிமாரமுல்

தஹயாமகலிர்க்குத் தோட்புணையாயெ

பொருபுனறகுடம் போக்கருமாயிற்

சென்மா விலக்கைக்கருவொடு பெயரிய

கன்மா விலக்கை மன்னருன்னு

மறுவின்றி விளக்கிய யடுவிலையாய்

ஹபுவித்தப் பிஞ்ஞையார் பெருமகன்

*Cirupāṇārrupadai*, 11, 116-122.

The Lord of the Óviyar of spotless fame, endued with the strength of a tiger, intrepid of body and limbs and possessed of

The poet on his way to this city had to pass through two of the other towns of his kingdom, namely, a fortified town on the seacoast\* and another by the name of Velur.† The commentator of this work calls the fortified town Eyil paṭṭanam. From the fact that Nalliyakóḍan is mentioned as one of the kings of Lanka and as the chief of the Óviyar‡ one of the Nága tribes of North Ceylon, and from the description of the towns themselves, one is led to surmise that the fortified town was Mántai, the present Mátoṭa, the Sopatma of the Periplus, that Ámúr was the Aakote of Ptolemy in Jaffna and that Vélúr, which was between those two towns, was in all probability a village in the Púnakari or the Vidattaltívu district, now known by some other name or lost in jungle.

a sword of faultless blade, one out of the several kings of great and ancient Lanka, whose shores are constantly beaten by rolling billows, where punnai, sandalwood and aghil are washed against the shoulders of bathing women, Lanka ineffable on account of its strength begotten of auspicious inception.

Óviyar were a tribe of Nágas inhabiting the seacoast. Sandalwood and aghil being washed against the shoulders of bathing women shows that the place was a port and that these articles had dropped out of the ships.

The Tamil word Perumakan, meaning a Lord or a Chief, was commonly used in the earliest cave inscriptions.

|| அந்தணாகுதர் யருங்கடி விபனகர்  
அந்தண் டிடங்கென் அயன் சூழர்

Ibid, 11, 187—188.

His Amur guarded by invincible guards, surrounded by a beautiful and cool moat, and containing broad mansions.

\* பாடல் சான்ற தெய்த தெடுவழி  
மணிநீர் கைய்பு மநிலோடு பெயரிய  
பணிநீர்ப் படுவிற்ப பட்டினம்

Ibid, 11, 151—153.

On the great highway along the seashore stands the renowned city praised by poets, the city surrounded by a wall and a moat of crystal waters and possessing (villages with) cool tanks.

† நிறல் வேறுநிலிற் புத்தகேணி  
விறல் வேல்வென்றி வேலூர்

Ibid, 11, 172—163.

The victorious Vélur in whose tanks the lotus buds appear like the heads of the javelins belonging to the valourous Vélán.

‡ Ibid., 11, 120—122; *vide ante*, note ‡ on page 40.



Mr. Kanagasabai, the author of "Tamils 1,800 years ago" surmised that the country mentioned in *Cirupánārrupadai* referred to Mavilangai on the eastern coast of India to the north of the river Kaveri.\* Professor S. Krishnasamy Aiyangar, however, was of opinion that as far as he was able to make out there was no authority for taking Mavilangai to mean a country as Mr. Kanagasabai had taken it, the passage in *Cirupánārrupadai* not lending itself to that interpretation.† Mavilangai in India was not a country but a town or village, and this town was called "Malange" by Ptolemy and stated to be not on the sea-board. From the fact that several kings were said to have been ruling over the country called Má Lanka and from the interpretation given by the famous commentator Naccinārkiniyār, there is not the slightest doubt that Ceylon was the place referred to as Mavilangai or Mahá Lanka (the great Lanka) in *Cirupánārrupadai*. In further confirmation of the above contention, I quote two verses from *Pura Nánúru*, a compilation by the third Tamil Sangam, of poetical compositions of classical merit ranging from 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. Both the verses are attributed to a bard of the name of Nan Náganár, who as his name indicates was a Nāga of North Ceylon. The first‡ is in praise of

\* Tamils 1,800 years ago, p. 27.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. xlvii., p. 72.

‡ ஓசையாயத் தொண்டொடி மகலிர்  
கேழறுமுத விருஞ்சேறு கிண்பின்  
யாகமயின் புலவு நாறுமுட்டையைத்  
தேனாகும்பத் திழங்கொடு பெலுஉ  
மியுமெனு மொலிக்கும் புனலம் புதவித்  
பெருமாவிலங்கைத் தலையன் சிறிய  
ழில்லோர் சொன்மலை நல்லியத் கோட்டி  
யுடையவாழி

*Pura Nánúru*, v. 176.

Oh! (my heart) that owns Nalliyakóḍan who wears the garland of songs sung by minstrels with the lyre—the Lord of great Lanka of weeping waters, where one is fed by young maidens wearing shining bracelets with the eggs of the tortoise found by them while playing about in the black soil turned up by the boar, and honey smelling *āmbal* yams—may you ever flourish!



Nalliyakóḍan, who is referred to as the ruler of Má Lanka, and the other\* of his son Villi Átan who is termed the ruler of Lanka, the prefix "Má" being omitted. In my opinion, these passages of accepted antiquity and genuineness settle the question relating to the location of the kingdom of Nalliyakóḍan referred to in *Cirupánárrupadai*.

Therefore the *Eyil paṭṭanam* of *Cirupánárrupadai* and the *Sopatma* or *Só paṭṭanam* of the *Periplus* stand identified with *Mántai* or *Mátota* which was a fortified town on the north-western coast of Ceylon. Sites of Roman buildings, once the residences of Roman merchants, in addition to Roman coins and articles of foreign trade have been found here.† *Mámulanár*, one

\* யானே பெறுகயன் குனிழல் யாழ்க்கை  
யயனே பெறுக யென்றாவினை தயற  
னெல்லரி தொழுவர் கூர்யான் மழுங்கிற்  
பின்னமறத் தோடியிகக்கல் செத்  
தன்னல் யானைமக் கூன் புறத்துரிஞ்சு  
செல்லமல் புறவினிலகை கடுமியோன்  
விள்ளியாதன்

*Pura Nánúru*, v. 379.

May I obtain the shadow of his feet and may he receive my praises in poetic cadence! Such is Villi Átan, the Lord of Lanka of fertile fields of paddy, the reapers in which sharpen their blunted sickles on the curved backs of tortoises buried in the mud mistaking them for stones.

† "In the time of De Mello, commander of Mannar, 1575, some Roman houses were opened in the province of Mantota, and in the time of the Dutch, many Roman ruins and pieces of marble work were to be seen. In examining the foundation, an iron chain of very different form and design to anything made in India, was discovered. They found also three pieces of copper coins.....and a gold coin, at the edge of which was deciphered part of a superscription, in which the letter "c" supposed to refer to Claudius was visible. On another coin was discovered the letters R.M.N.R. supposed by Valentyn to have formed part of the word *Romanorum*. The same writer conjectures that those coins were brought thither by the freedman of Annius Plocamus but I confess I do not see why we should limit ourselves to such a course, when we know that both Roman and Greek coins must have been in part the circulating media employed in Oriental commerce, one of whose emporia was doubtless in this very district."

*Pridham*, Vol. II., p. 498;

*Transactions of R.A.S.*, Vol. I., p. 546.

a "The whole district of Mantota (*Maha-totam*=great garden) is surrounded with a halo of interest for the antiquary, and it is

of the Tamil poets of the third Sangam, who flourished about the latter part of the first century A.D., refers to the importance of the port of Mántai and speaks about the wealth brought over the seas by the ships of "foreigners." If this important emporium is not the Sopatma of the Periplus, the alternative left is that it was omitted altogether by the author for some unknown reason, while localities far less important receive mention.

Kamara can be easily identified with Ámúr of Cīrúpánárrupaḍai and Aakote of Ptolemy. This same place Ptolemy calls Kouroula in Book 1, chapter 13, as lying at a distance of 1,350 stadia to the north-east of cape Cory. The irregularities of the route deplored by him and on which he based his computation of the distance can be easily appreciated when the town is identified with the ancient Kadiramalai, the capital of the Nága kings, which has now dwindled into the insignificant village of Kanteróḍai in Jaffna, though possessing untold archæological wealth. If Kouroula was on the Indian coast, there was no necessity on the part of the informants of Ptolemy to speak of the irregular course of navigation. The distance of 1,350 stadia or 155 English miles as stated by Ptolemy between cape Cory and Kouroula will be found not to agree with the actual distance between Danushkóti and Kadiramalai. But much reliance should not be placed on the

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far from improbable that the measures that cannot fail to be taken, sooner or later, to restore its former fertility to this neglected but very capable district may evoke some relic of the past to elucidate what is now shrouded in mystery."

Pridham's Ceylon, Vol. II., p. 499.

- \* கன்னகர் மாந்தை முத்தத்தொன்றார்  
பணிநிறை கொணர்ந்தபாடு சேர் கங்கலம்  
பொன்செய்ப்பாசை வயிர் மொடாம்ப  
லொண்ணுயால் நிறையக்குவை இயன்றல்  
எரித்தினத்தறத்த நீதியத்தன்ன

Akam Nánūru, v. 127, by Mámúlanār.

Like unto the treasure left behind in his country (in exchange) for heaps of pepper, by the fair ships of foreigners, which braving dangers have brought over the bending billows, images of gold, diamond and amber, to the harbour of the good city of Mántai.




computation of distances by sea voyages made at this early period when mariners had no reliable contrivances to register the speed of vessels. If the route, however, ran from Danushkóti to Mátota and from Mátota to Kalmunai and thence to Kadiramalai, the distance as stated by Ptolemy would be almost correct. As illustrating what little reliance could be placed on the distances mentioned by the Greek authors, I need only refer to the distance between Tyndis and Muziris on the western coast of India identified as the present Thondi and Kodungalur respectively, which is stated in the *Periplus* as 800 stadia, but which in fact is only about 500 stadia.

It is rather doubtful if Talacory and Aakote represented the same place. Talacory was the ancient Talmunai (Cory and Munai being synonymous) now corrupted to Kalmunai, situated on the narrow arm of the mainland projecting into the Jaffna lagoon towards Colombuturai. It was no doubt an ancient mart as old ruins can be seen about the place and Roman coins have been picked there of late. Sir Emerson Tennent believing Talacory and Aakote to be the same identified them with Tondaimán Áru. This cannot be correct as Tondaimán Áru came into existence only in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. after Karunákara Tondaimán, the famous General of the Chóla king Kulotunga I. and was neither a place of importance before that nor a cape. This error of Sir Emerson Tennent has presumably led the writers on Ceylon geography to call the most north-easterly cape of Jaffna, Palmyrah Point.

If Kamara be Kadiramalai and Sopátma is Mátota, Podouke should according to the description given in the *Periplus* be midway between the two and can be safely identified with Púnakari. Púnakari being the first station in the mainland on the line of the great trunk road which led from Jambukóla to the northern gate of Anuradhapura, would have been specially



selected for the erection of triumphal arches and for being decorated with every variety of flowers and lined with banners and garlands of flowers on great festive occasions such as the procession of the Bo plant during the time of Devanampiya Tissa,\* or during royal visits. Hence that place would have been most appropriately called Púdúki  = place hung with flowers) and its later transformation to Púnakari (city of flowers) is quite natural.

Of the three towns mentioned by Ptolemy as being in the country of Batoi or, more correctly, Paralia (Section 12, chapter 1, Book vii.) Kouroula has been thus identified as Kadiramalai or the present Kantaródai, Thelkeir is no doubt another form of Talacory. It therefore follows, that the metropolis Nikama (Nigama or Niyangama) should therefore be Mátota. It is not at all surprising to see that Ptolemy should have given two sets of names to the important marts on this coast.

Kouroula and Aakote	for Kadiramalai
Talacory and Thelkeir	for Kalmunai
Moudouttou and Nikama	for Mátota.

When we consider that these names were mentioned to him at different times, by different merchants possibly speaking different tongues and modifying those foreign names according to the predilections of his own tongue, some measure of confusion would have been inevitable.

It is also clear that Poduke or Púnakari, which was a port when the Periplus was written, had ceased to be one during the time of Ptolemy, and Talacory or Thelkeir identified as Kalmunai had come into prominence. Incidentally I may say that this is a further circumstance in support of the view that Periplus was anterior in date to Ptolemy. Ptolemy who had, however, heard of the name Poduke assigned one to a place in the interior of the Island and another further north on the Coromandel Coast.

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\* Mahaváṃsa, chap. xix.

Larger vessels probably rounded the promontory and found safe anchorage on the inner coast of Talacory or Kalmunai. From this spot smaller boats called Sangara or *Sangadam* mentioned in the Periplus, which could ply in shallow water, carried the goods *via* Návánturai which is also called Sangada Návánturai and through Valukkai Áru to Kadiramalai. Valukkai Áru, which is now a narrow dry channel except during the rainy season, was a salt creek navigated by small boats engaged in the removal of salt stored at Kantaródai even so recently as the Dutch times, and Baldeus calls it a salt river.\*

The Periplus gives us an insight into the important trade of cotton goods carried on at these ports and confirms the statement found in the Tamil classics that the Nágas who were then the inhabitants of the North were skilled in the art of weaving. Cotton seems to have been the material that was wrought into cloth, and appears to have been cultivated on a scale that exceeded the requirements of the country; and the name of Paruti Turai (Cotton port) still remains to testify to the export of that material to other countries. The Nágas had attained to such a high degree of proficiency in the art of weaving that the cotton stuffs manufactured by them were likened to the "sloughs of serpents," the "woven wind" and the "vapour of milk." They were often described as those fine textures the warp and woof of which could not be followed by the eye.† The

\* Baldeus' Ceylon, chap. xlv.

† கோக்குதுரை கல்லாதுண்டைமய பூக்களில்  
தாவுரியன்னயறுமைய

Cirupāṇṇūpaḍai II., 82-83.

Cloth of flower pattern like unto the cast off sloughs of serpents, whose warp and woof cannot be followed by the eye.

அ காம்பு சொலித்தன்ன அறுமைய

Ibid, I. 236.

Cloth shining like the tender covering of the bamboo.

ஓ கண்ணுரை கல்லாதுண்டைமய பூக்களில்  
மண்ண அறுமையவர்



dedication of one of those priceless muslins presented to him by one Nīla Nāga, by a Chieftain named Aay, to the image of a god (Siva) finds mention in the Tamil classics.\* According to the Periplus muslin sprinkled with pearls called *ebargareitides* (evidently a mistake for *margaritides*) was exported from the island of Epiodorus (Mannar). These muslins, which for their fineness and transparency were specially sought after by the Roman ladies, who preferred effect to modesty, fetched fabulous prices in foreign markets. Pliny therefore exclaimed that India drained the Roman Empire annually to the extent of 550,000,00 sesterces, equal to about £487,000, sending in return goods which were sold at a hundred times their value in India. He also remarks in another place, "this is the price we pay for our luxuries and our women." These transparent fabrics and gauzy stuffs were as much coveted by the fair Persians in the harems of Susa and Ecbatana, and by the royal maidens of the Courts of India and Ceylon, as they were by the Patrician ladies of Rome. The strange desire on the part of the high born dames of India and Ceylon to clothe themselves in ultra-diaphanous garments, is amply illustrated by the fresco paintings found at Ajanta and Sigiriya, in

Maṇimekalai, Canto, 28 il., 52—53.

Maiden dressed in cloth hand-woven with thread so fine as to be undistinguishable by the eye.

சூவியன்ன அவிநற்கலிக்கம்  
பாம்புபயந்தன்ன வடிவின் காம்பின்  
கழம்படு செவியின் இழைமணிவாரா  
ஒன் பூக்கலிக்கம்

Pura Nānūru, v. 3.

Cloth of fine thread resembling the vapour (of milk) patterned like the sloughs of serpents bright as the tender covering of the bamboo and glittering with gems along the warp.

\* திழநிகழ்  
சீலநாக கல்பிய கலிக்க  
மாசுமர் செவ்வர்க் கமர்த்தனன்கொடுத்த  
.. .. சூய்

Cirupāṇṇupadai, II., 95—77.

(The Chieftain) Aay granted to the image of god under the banyan tree the resplendent cloth presented to him by Nīla Nāga.



which the royal ladies appear semi-nude in spite of their garments, while their more dusky handmaidens are modestly clothed in cheaper stuff.

Ptolemy mentions a town and an island bearing the name of Nagadiva, situated on the same latitude, and an inland town Nakadouba, which he locates on the Equator. He also places the Nagadiboi on the East and the Nageiroi on the South, thus showing that the districts of Trincomalie, Matara and Hambantota were also peopled by the Nágas. It is difficult for one to believe now that the Nágas were ever living in the South and the East, but a critical study of the history of the period will disclose the truth of the statement. From the third century B.C., when Mahá Nága, the brother of Devanam-piya Tissa and a prince of Nága extraction established his Kingdom at *Mágama* in the South, his descendants, his Nága connections, and a large concourse of Nága followers appear to have gradually settled in and about the districts. Nága princes had also successfully established themselves at Girinuvera near Cottiár and at Lenadora to the north of Matale. About the time of Ptolemy a Nága dynasty of kings ruled at Anuradhapura. The existence of a village called Naimana (nai=nága) two miles to the north of Matara with the tradition that it was the site of an ancient Nága temple and a royal city now called Makaviṭa (Nákaviṭa?) in the vicinity affords clear indication of the Nága occupation of the Southern extremity of the Island. It is therefore not surprising that having heard from the merchants that the Nageiroi and the Nagadiboi were living on the South and the East, Ptolemy should have fixed the towns of Nakadouba and Nagadiba in those districts respectively. The present Naimana might have been the ancient Nakadouba. Nagadiba the island should be Nágadipa of the Mahaváṃsa which has been identified beyond all doubt as the present Peninsula of Jaffna.\*

\* Journal C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXVI., Nágadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna.

and Nagadiba the town should have been its capital Kouroula or Kadiramalai.

Anoubingara, a town and Modouttou the mart were also incorrectly identified as Katchia Veli and Kokalay respectively. In spite of the unmistakable phonetic resemblance, if not identity, between Modouttou and Mátota, the veneration for Ptolemy's infallibility in the location of these places led to the somewhat violent transfer of this mart to the Eastern coast. Anoubingara can be traced to Singai Nagara or Siṅhapura, a town built and occupied by the Kalinga colonists who accompanied Vijaya, and who are said to have landed at Nága-dīpa. It came into prominence and fame during the time of the later Jaffna kings called Áriya Chakravartis, and its extensive ruins can still be seen at Vallipuram near Point Pedro.

The necessity for a slight readjustment in the order of places in this region as given by Ptolemy, is not surprising when we consider the sinuous nature of the coast on the North of Ceylon. If Nágadīpa be taken to represent the larger country of the Jaffna Peninsula, the correct order of the places would be:—

Anoubingara	Singai Nagar or Siṅhapura
River Phasis	Kanagaráyan Áru
Talacory	} Talmuni or Kalmunai
Thelkeir	
Aakote	} Kadiramalai or Kanteródai
Kouroula	
Modouttou	Mátota

In describing these places the Periplus furnishes important information regarding the art of navigation among the Tamils. There were small boats called "sangara" or *sangadam* to ply between the ports in the shallow inland seas, and larger vessels called "kolondiophonta" were built in some of these ports for "voyages to Khruse and the Ganges." To this day larger vessels are built at Valvettýturai and Kayts, ports which came into prominence subsequent to the decline of commerce with Rome.



The Jaffna lagoon appears to have been the great roadway for foreign vessels, for after visiting Sopatma and Kamara "the course of the voyage bends to the East," and through it the Bay of Bengal was reached. Then the narrow sandbank now forming the isthmus between the peninsula and the mainland was not in existence and the sea which is now silted up was navigable for larger vessels. The fact that dead chanks are now being fished in the bed of the Jaffna lagoon at a depth of 15 to 20 feet is a clear indication that the sea was then deep enough even for these larger craft.

According to the *Periplus*, the three ports mentioned above imported all the goods which should reach Damurike (Tamilakam or the Tamil country in South India), absorbing all that was brought from Egypt, and all species of goods that came from Damurike to be exported to the other countries.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, a later Greek writer of the sixth century A.D., while describing Ceylon and its people says:—"There are two kings ruling at opposite ends of the Island, one of whom possesses the hyacinth and the other the district in which are the port and emporium, for the emporium in that place is the greatest in those parts."\* Of the two kings mentioned here, the one who possessed the hyacinth was the king of Anuradhapura, as the gem has been described by several travellers to Ceylon† as one of extraordinary size and brilliance, and the other was the king of Jaffna in whose dominion was the great port and emporium. If the word hyacinth be taken to represent gems generally and not a special gem, even then the king possessing the country of gems would be the king of Anuradhapura. Sir Emerson Tennent, who while referring to this statement of Cosmas, in one passage says that "the king in whose dominion was the great port and emporium was,

\* Ceylon by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I. p. 567 (quotation from Cosmas).

† Hiouen Tshang, Marco Polo, Frair Odoric and Ibn Batuta refer to this gem in their writings.



of course, the Rajah of Jaffna,"\* at another argues that this "singular kingdom of which little was known," was somewhere in the South of Ceylon, about Pt. de Galle.† It was not probable that Galle had attained its eminence as a port and emporium by the early part of the sixth century A.D., when Cosmas wrote, whereas Sundara Múrty, one of the four Tamil Saiva saints, who flourished about the seventh century A.D., while singing the praises of the Lord of Tirukétisvaram describes the harbour of Mátota as one crowded with ships.‡

When we consider the fact that the course adopted by the ancient navigators in order to reach Mátota was along the several deep channels found between Danush-kóti and the island of Mannar, that the sea near Mannar was then not so shallow as at present, and that the Jaffna lagoon was the roadstead for the larger vessels like the Chinese junks, the denial of Sir E. Tennent of "the expediency and the practicability of the navigation" along this route would be found to have no justification. The rapidity with which the sea in those parts became silted up can be readily understood when one knows that no vessel of any size can now approach within miles of Mátota, that the ancient Pálávi, which perhaps served as a safe anchorage, is now entirely blocked up, that the land between the Pálávi and the sea is more than a quarter mile in width and covered with heavy jungle and that it is now impossible even for a small boat to navigate the Elephant Pass lagoon with ease. The era of large ships among the nations of the world so synchronised with the silting up of the lagoon which gradually became unfit for navigation, that such vessels had perforce to seek the protection of other ports.

\* Christianity in Ceylon, by Sir E. Tennent, p. 5.

† Ceylon, by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 589.

‡ ஸந்தரம் மலிகின்று கடன்மாடுதாட்ட நன்னகர்

Sundara Múrty's Dévaram, Tirukétisvara patikam.

The good city of Matota whose harbour abounds with ships.

Till about the fifth century A.D. most of the trade with China was done overland through India. The ambassadors who went to Rome in the reign of Claudius stated that their ancestors had in the course of their commercial pursuits, reached China by traversing India and the Himalayan mountains, long before sea voyages were attempted, and in the fifth century the Ceylon king in an address delivered by his envoy to the Emperor of China said that both routes were then in use. The first embassy from Ceylon to the Court of China reached its destination in 405 A.D. having gone apparently overland, as it was ten years upon the road.\* The sea route to China came into prominence about the fifth century or later, when perhaps the present ports on the northern coast of Jaffna became popular.

The northern ports were generally resorted to for the disposal of the goods of south Ceylon too. The trade of the island was in the hands of the Tamils of the North and of the Arabs, large numbers of whom remained in Ceylon for the purpose and earned the name of *Marakkalayas* (people of the ships; Tam. *Marakkalam* means a ship) from the Sinhalese.

The description of the Indian trade by Cosmas† is so corroborative of the earlier accounts given by the author of the *Periplus* that the existence and the importance of the marts at Kadiramalai and Mátota are beyond all doubt. The ships of Arabia, Persia and the

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\* Cathay and the way Thither, Preliminary Essay.

† "As its position is central, the island is the resort of ships from all parts of India, Persia, and Ethiopia, and in like manner, many are despatched from it. From the inner countries, I mean China and other emporiums, it receives silk, aloes, cloves, clove wood, chandana, and whatever else they produce. These it again transmits to the outer ports, I mean to Male (Malabar) whence the pepper comes, to Calliyana, where there is brass and sesame wood, and materials for dress for it is also a place of great trade and Sindon where they got musk, castor and Androstachum, to Persia, the Homeric coasts and Adule. Receiving in return the exports of these emporiums, Taprobane exchanges them in the inner ports (to the east of Cape Comorin) sending her produce along with them to each."

Ceylon, by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 569, quotation from Cosmas.



Malabar coast called at Mátota and Talacory and despatched their goods to Kadiramalai in smaller boats. As long as the Elephant Pass lagoon was navigable the Chinese ships too anchored off Talacory, but later they, as well as the ships from Coromandel and the Ganges, touched at the several ports on the northern coast of the Jaffna Peninsula, and despatched their goods either by land or sea according to the ports they touched, to Kadiramalai, which was certainly the great emporium of exchange.

About the seventh or the eighth century A.D. Mátota, perhaps by reason of the difficulty of navigation, was abandoned, the eastern entrance to the Elephant Pass lagoon was blocked up, and Kayts under the name of Kalah became the centre of trade and ships from the East as well as the West found safe anchorage at this place, as they do to the present day. This port of Kalah mentioned by the mediæval writers was said to have been situated in the kingdom of Zabedj. Zabaj or Zabage, which was no doubt Yápána or Yálpánam "Jaffna," and Kalah is a corruption of *Kólam* or *Kóvalam*, the point opposite to the present port of Kayts on the north-western corner of the island of Karative. This was the port visited by European and Mohamedan travellers until the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese appeared upon the scene.

Thus it will be seen that "the central emporium of commerce which in turn enriched every country of western Asia, elevated the merchants of Tyre to the ranks of princes, fostered the renown of the Ptolemies, rendered the wealth and the precious products of Arabia a gorgeous mystery, freighted the Tigris with 'barbaric pearl and gold,' and identified the merchants of Bagdad and the mariners of Bassora with associations of adventure and romance"\* was not Point de Galle but Mátota, Kadiramalai and Kayts in the kingdom of Jaffna.

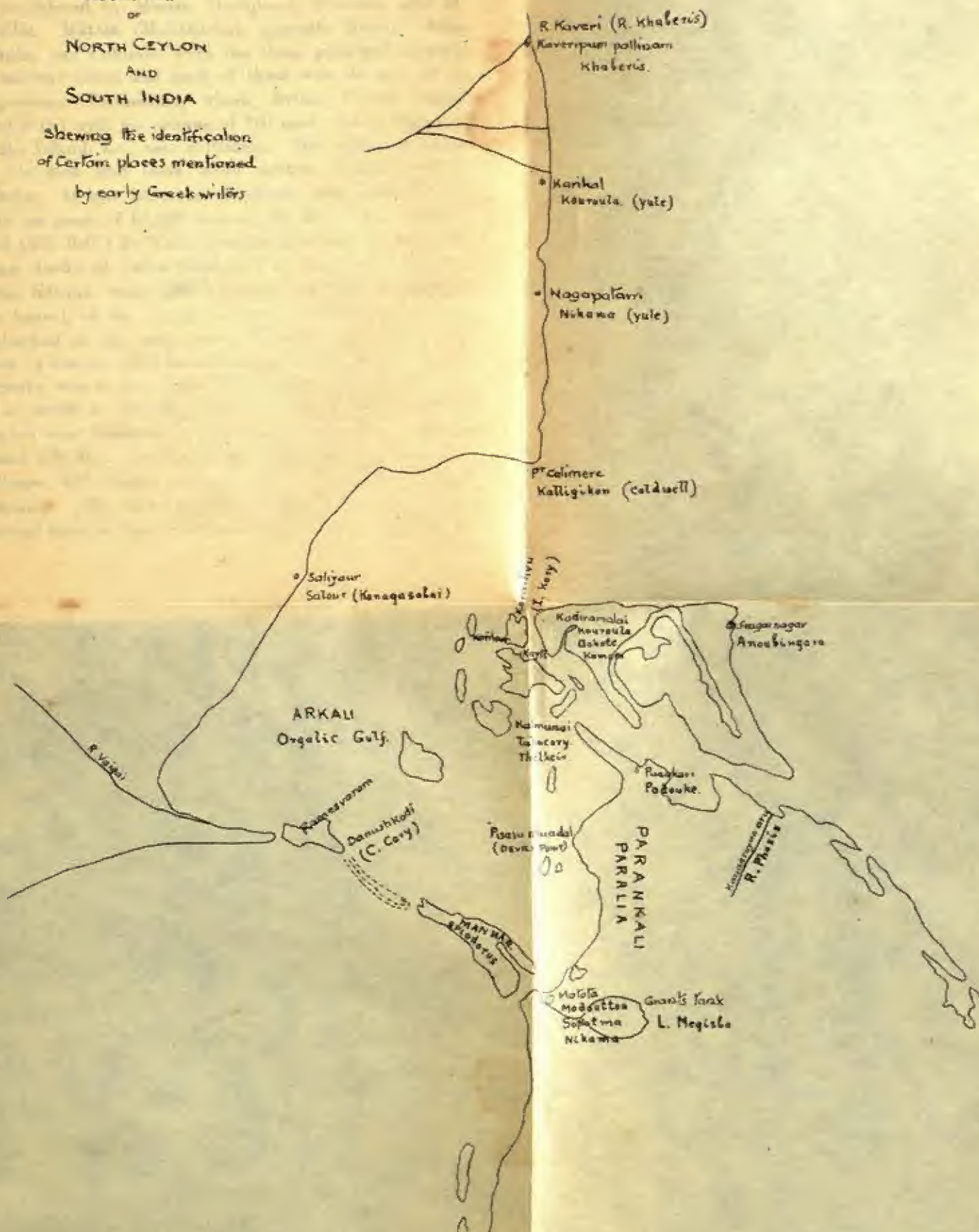
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\* Ceylon, by Sir E. Tennent, Vol. I., p. 592.

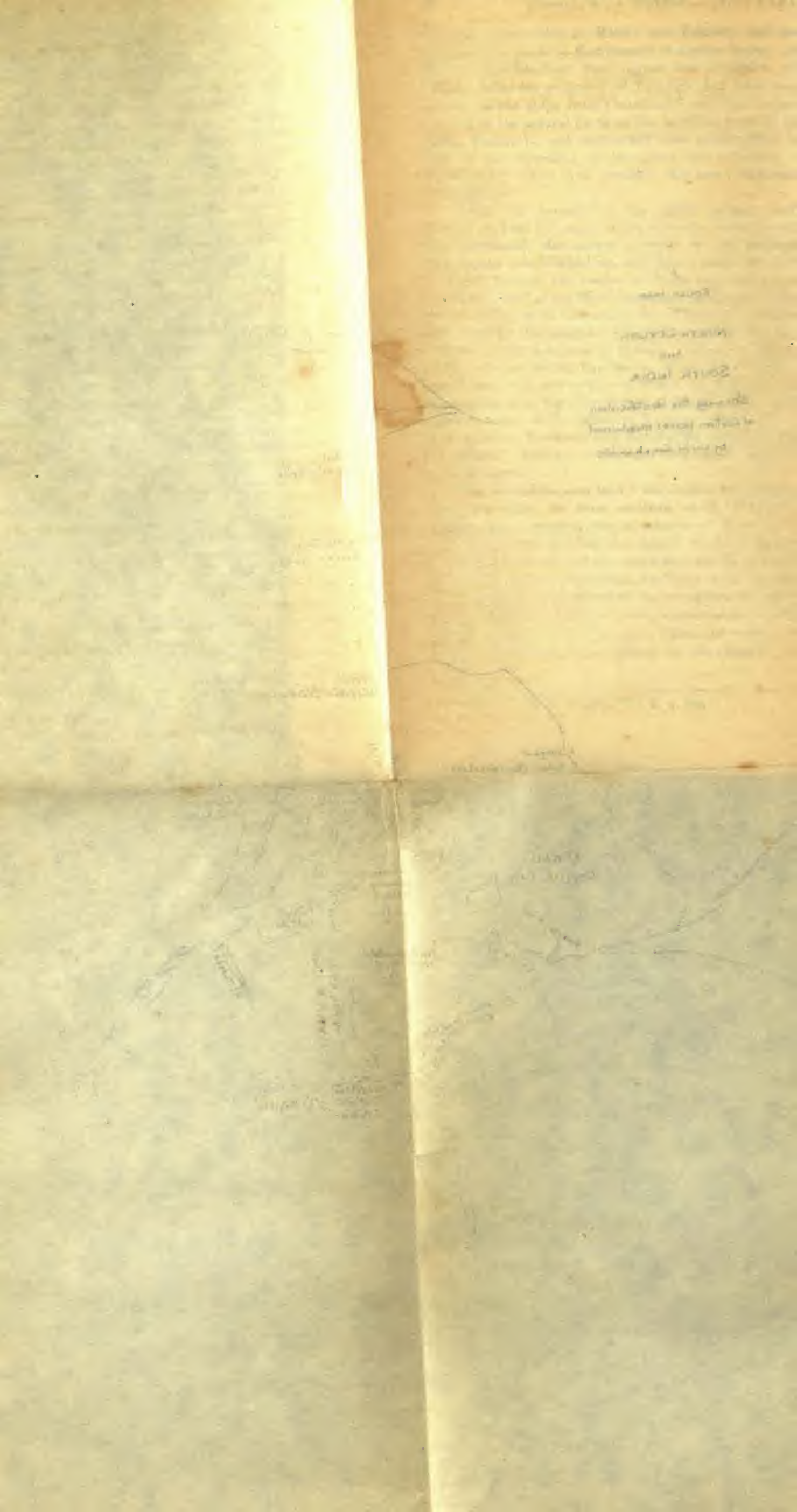


ROUGH MAP  
OF

showing the identification  
of certain places mentioned  
by early Greek writers







## "THE TAMIL KINGDOM OF JAFFNA AND THE EARLY GREEK WRITERS"

REMARKS BY MUDALIYAR A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA.

This paper is likely to mislead the beginners to a serious extent unless it is pointed out that most of the arguments and conclusions in it are based on conjectures and gratuitous statements. Its author, however, deserves thanks for the trouble he has taken in the interest of a progressive race and its language.

The site of the ancient emporium discussed in the paper was not Jaffna. It was in the north-west coast, as considered by Messrs. Bertolacci, Pridham, and H. Neville. Mátota (Mahátittha), opposite Mannar, Jambukóla, and Colombo were the three principal seaports in ancient times and each of them was the site of an emporium. Tammenna, where Prince Vijaya landed (543 B.C.) with his retinue of 700 men, was in that part of the Island, *i.e.*, near Puttalam. His bride and brides of his men and their large retinue disembarked at Mátota. It was here that Bhalluka from India landed with an army of 60,000 men in 164 B.C. The embassy sent (307 B.C.) by King Dévánámpiyatissa of Ceylon to King Aśóka of India embarked at Jambukóla and the large retinue, sent (288 B.C.) by the latter king with the branch of the sacred Bo-tree at Buddha Gaya, disembarked at the same port. Colombo (literally "harbour") was so called because of its famous harbour. Its vicinity was a very busy and thickly populated place. It is stated in Sinhalese and Pali books that a part of Ceylon near Kēḷaṇiya, which was submerged by the sea about 200 B.C., contained 100,000 seaboard towns and villages, 970 fishers' villages, and 470 villages of pearl fisheries. No such important seaports appear to have existed beyond Mátota towards the north. There is no



satisfactory evidence to support the allegation that Nágadīpa is the Peninsula of Jaffna. Nágadīpa was originally an island near Kalpitiya and afterwards, owing to natural causes, became part of the mainland, comprising at least the maritime parts of Puttalam and Chilaw districts (*Vide* "Ceylon Notes and Queries," Part VII.). It is expressly stated in the Mahāwaṃsa that Jambukóla and Sálipabbata (Chilaw) are both in Nágadīpa. It must be remembered that according to the Mahāwaṃsa and other native chronicles, there were in Ceylon both divine Nágas and human Nágas, the latter of whom came (288 B.C.) here in the reign of King Dēvánāmpiyatissa. Nāga is a word bearing various significations and does not always refer to divine or human Nágas only.

The learned lecturer has not been successful also in his derivations and identifications of words. He has treated Sanskrit words as Tamil. He says: "From *Ilam* came *Silam*, *Sihalam* and *Sinhalam*." After this, I shall not be surprised if he were to say that Sanskrit is a language derived from Tamil! If an impartial investigation be made, it will be found that the present development of Tamil is entirely due to words, etc., borrowed from Sanskrit and other Aryan languages of India.

If indeed *Sinhalam* is derived from *Ilam*, the presence of *S* cannot be accounted for. But the derivation is just the other way. There is no doubt that *Ilam* is derived from Pali *Sihalam* or Sanskrit *Sinhalam*, as supported by Bishop Caldwell and other eminent authorities (*Vide* "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," by E. Thurston; and *cf.* Tamil *iyaṃ* "lead," which is derived from Sanskrit and Pali *Sisakam*.)

Whether Ophir is a part of India or of Ceylon, the Hebrew words *ibha*, *kapi* and *túkkiyyim* are certainly not of Tamil origin. *Ibha* and *kapi* are pure Sanskrit and *túkkiyyim* is only a corruption of Sanskrit *Śikhin*, "peacock," as considered by Prof. Max Muller. Hence

Ophir can only be a part of India, probably Sauvira or the north-western division including it. Again, *oriza*, *gingiber* and *karpion* are also not Tamil, but variations of the Arabic *arroz*, Sanskrit *Śrīṅgavēra* or Pali *siṅgavēra*, and Sinhalese *kuruṇḍu* respectively, from which the Tamil words themselves are derived. The Greek word is *zingiberis*.

5. A discussion followed, in which the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Archdeacon de Winton and Dr. Paul took part.

6. On a motion proposed by Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Dr. S. C. Paul, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

7. A vote of thanks was proposed by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam to the chair. The motion was carried with acclamation.



## A REJOINDER TO MUDALIYAR A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA

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Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara in attempting rather to decry my paper than to criticise any of the important points in it, starts with a warning to unwary beginners from being misled by my theories and conclusions as they were founded on "Conjectures and gratuitous statements," but proceeds unconsciously to advance biassed conjectures and unwarranted statements with the evident intention of demolishing some of the minor and unimportant conclusions found in it. He agrees with Bertolacci, Pridham and Neville that the ancient emporia were somewhere on the North West coast of Ceylon but does not admit that one was in Jaffna because he thought that the identification was made by him "in the interest of a progressive race and its language." Without proceeding to suggest his own identifications of the places mentioned by the Greek writers, he makes the bold assertion that Mátota, Jambukóla and Colombo were the ancient emporia. Unless he mistook a port for an emporium it is nowhere said that Jambukóla, identified by me as the present Sambuturai (Journal C.B. R.A.S., Vol. XXVI.) on the Northern coast of the Jaffna Peninsula, was an emporium of trade, not in the Mahavamsa, the only work which mentions the port. As for Colombo the earliest historical mention of it was by the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta who passed by it while sailing from Dondra to Jaffna in 1342 A.D. The Sinhalese and Pali books which speak of the devastation by the sea during the time of Rávana and of Kelani Tissa do not, I am sure, mention a word about Colombo nor about any other ports to the south of Mátota. This is certainly more than a "gratuitous statement," mere

imagination! Only to those who are determined not to see, will no seaports appear to the North of Mátoṭa.

“There is no satisfactory evidence” says the Mudaliyar, “to support the allegation that the ancient Nágadīpa was the Peninsula of Jaffna,” but what evidence has he adduced to support his own pet theory that the ancient Nágadīpa comprised Kalpitiya and Puttalam. As it is stated in the Mahavāṃsa that Jambukōla and Salipabbata were in Nágadīpa and as he (the Mudaliyar) incorrectly identified Salipabbata with Chilaw, he jumped to the conclusion that Nágadīpa was in the vicinity of Kalpitiya. This is according to him, a materialising fact, and not “a gratuitous statement.”

I said that Ílam was the earlier name of Ceylon and that Sīphaḷam was its later transformation. Such a proposition appears preposterous to the Mudaliyar as he apprehends that it may lead to the conclusion that Sanskrit was derived from Tamil. Therefore he would put it the other way and state that the Tamil Ílam was derived from the Sanskrit Sīphaḷam, and that will, according to him, go to prove that Tamil was derived from Sanskrit. It will be cruel to disabuse his mind of this happy thought. I have only to state that the name Sīphaḷam as applied to Ceylon does not appear in any authoritative document, Sīphalese, Tamil, Pali or Sanskrit earlier than the 5th Century, A.D. but the name Ílam appears in the earliest Tamil works of the 1st Century A.D.

Impartial investigation made by eminent scholars, Western as well as Eastern, have led to the conclusion that Tamil was a perfect language before it received any admixture of Sanskrit and that it is as old as, if not older than Sanskrit, and nobody is at this stage going to propound the astounding theory that one is derived from the other. But one fact is plain. While Tamil is still being spoken by 15 millions of people in South India and



Ceylon, Sanskrit became a dead language more than 2,000 years ago. If therefore the Hebrew mariners of King Solomon and the Greek traders carried away with them the native names of some of the articles of merchandise from India it must have been from Tamil-speaking people and not from Sanskrit-speaking people as the latter language was, according to certain scholars, never known to have been used as a spoken language. *Ibam*, *kāpi* and *tokai* are certainly words used in Tamil whatever might have been their linguistic origin. What I stated was, that Ophir probably represented the country of *óviyar*, a tribe of *Nágas* who lived in and about Mátota but the Mudaliyar will have that Ophir was in India because *Ibam*, *kapi* and *tukkiyim* are Sanskrit. Some logic! Although it is plain that the Greek word *Oriza* and the Arabic *arroz* are none but the Tamil word *arisi*, yet the Mudaliyar cannot think of such an atrocity. The Greek, he thought, would have preferred to borrow from the Arab and not from the Tamil. A Sanskrit word *śringavéra* was, however, found to derive *gingiber* from. Let him for a moment contemplate on the suffix "vera" and then he is sure to arrive at the correct conclusion.

My paper was certainly not intended to be a dissertation on the derivation of Tamil and Sanskrit words. Unlike the Mudaliyar I am ever ready to concede that languages as a rule when coming in contact with one another have the tendency to borrow not only words but also phrases and idioms, and Tamil has not been backward in that respect. I therefore hasten to assure the Mudaliyar that when I stated that Hebrew mariners and Grecian traders carried away with them the names of certain articles of commerce from Tamil ports, it was not at all my intention to throw down Sanskrit and its allied languages from the high and dignified pedestal on which the Mudaliyar has placed them.

I would have expected some criticism on the identification of place names mentioned by the Greek authors from such an erudite scholar as Mudaliyar Gunasekara. Could he not have placed them between Mátoṭa and Colombo? Such identification whether based on mere conjectures or made as "gratuitous statements" would have been acceptable to many.

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## NOTES ON CEYLON TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY\*

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

Bishop R. S. Copleston's "Epic of Parákrama" dealing with the campaigns of Parákrama Báhu I., which culminated in his accession to the Sinhalese throne, was published in this Journal, Vol. XIII., No. 44 of 1893. According to the author Ceylon was divided into four parts, the northern kingdom of which Polonnaruwa was the capital, and the three principalities of Mánábharaṇa and his two brothers, all situate in the triangle between Passara, Balangoda and Hambantota.

The object of the present paper is to revise in part this view, which is now generally received. Many identifications of course are only tentative, but it may be laid down as a safe guide in locating mediæval place names that armies marched then as now on roads and that consequently due regard must be paid to the Sinhalese *mávatas*, many of which are probably centuries old; and further that many old royal seats are now represented by *gabaḍāgam*, of which fact Kurunegala, Gampola and Badulla are examples. In the Mahāvamsa the Sinhalese place names either are translated into Pali or remain quite or almost unchanged. Thus in chapter C. we find:—v. 43, Rajakatthala=Radāgoda, and v. 232, Singatthala=Aggoda, while Kuṭṭāpitiya in v. 228 is the Sinhalese name of the village. The translations of place names in the Sinhalese Mahāvamsa are not to be relied on implicitly, the equation *thala*, *thali*=*goda* having escaped the translators.

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\* This paper was written before Mr. H. Storey's paper on the "Parakrama Bahu the Great" published in the Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. VII., Part 1, p. 17.

In the fourteenth century the Island was divided into three main divisions, Pihiti, Máya, and Ruhuna. The boundaries between the second and third divisions were in theory the Kaluganga and the Mahaveliganga: Ruhuna therefore included all to the east of the last named river, but the Kaḍaimpota shows that Pasyodun, Navayodun, Aṭakalan, and Kaḷugalboḍa belonged to Máya Raṭa. The boundary between Máya and Pihiti is said to have been the Deduru Oya; east of the present North-Western Province boundary in Matale District Udugoḍa, Asgiri, Elaheṛa, and Melandura, a name which appears in the Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription of Gaja Báhu II. published in this Journal, Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Part 1, and which is still used locally for the Vilgomuwa wasama of Laggala Pallesiya Pattu, were in Pihiti as well as Mediwaka in Uda Dumbara (Kewulgama inscription).

In Mahāvamsa LXI. we read that Mápábharaṇa or Vira Báhu and his brothers after reducing the "Southern District" (dakkhiṇa passaṇa) and the Ruhuna divided these two countries between them, Kitti Sirimegha obtaining Dvādasa-sahasakaṇ raṭṭhaṇ or Doḷosdás with its capital Mahánágasula, Siri Vallabha the country of Aṭṭhasahassa with Uddhanadvára as its chief city, while Mápábharaṇa ruled Dakkhina passakaṇ from Puṅkha-gáma. A year later the three brothers prepared for war against Vikrama Báhu of Polonnaruwa but were defeated at Bodhisenapabbata, "which is in the Southern Country," and fled into Pañcayojana, while Vikrama Báhu advanced to Kalyáni or Kelaniya. From this it would appear that the "Southern Country" was somewhere between Polonnaruwa and Pasdun Korale, which as we have seen was not in Ruhuna.

Its position has been obscured by mistranslations on the part of Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha. Thus in chapter LVIII., 38 ff., Vijaya Báhu I. at Mahánágabhula accord-



ing to Wijesinha sent two officers "southward" and two others "along the highway by the sea to destroy the pride of the Cholians" then in occupation of Polonnaruwa. The two latter must have advanced along the east coast as they took Chagáma, presumably Sakamam in the Batticaloa District. The two sent "southward" took Mahunnaruggáma, Badalatthala, Vápinagara, Buddhagáma, Tilagulla, Mahágalla, Anuradhapura and Mahátittha (Mantota). Now we know from Chapter LXVIII., 43 ff., that Tilagulla and Mahágalla were in Parákrama Báhu's principality, while Badalatthala and Buddhagáma play an important part in his campaign against Gaja Báhu. Further it is impossible either to advance any distance southward from Doḷosdás without reaching the sea or to take Anuradhapura by such a movement. When we find that the Pali text has "dakkhiṇaṃ passaṃ" instead of "southward" the position is clear: the two officers in reality went northward from Doḷosdás, captured Mahunnáruggáma, which I tentatively identify with Masnoruwa near Giriulla,\* and after operations in the present Seven Korales and Matale finally reached Anuradhapura. A similar mis-translation occurs in Chapter LIX., 18, 19, where instead of "the Rohaṇa, and the Malaya country, even the whole of the southern part of the island" we should read: "the Rohaṇa, the Malaya country, and the whole of the Southern district" (*Te sabbe Rohaṇaṃ tathá Malaya-maṇḍalaṃ sabbam dakkhiṇa-passaṃ ca sahasá parivat-tayun.*) That the Southern Country was not Rohaṇa is clear from Chapter LXXVIII., 9, 10, where the priests "who dwelt in the country of the sub-king," which as will be seen was the first named division, are distinct from "those of the three Fraternities who dwelt in the Rohaṇa."

\* An inscription at Malagane in Giritalan Korable gives the name of that village as Muhunnaru; this, however, seems to be too far north. Vápinagara may be Vénaru, surviving in the name of a tank, Venaruvewa, in Kurunegala town.

The general position of the Southern Country is fixed by Chapter XLIV., 86, 87. According to this Jetṭhatissa went from the Malaya or hill country to Ariṭṭhagiri (Ritigala) and establishing his authority over the Southern and Eastern countries advanced on Anuradhapura. It is therefore clear that the Southern Country was so called not from its position in the Island but from its situation as regards the capital. The matter is clinched by the Bilibewa inscription, in which that village, situate some 15 miles south-west of Anuradhapura, is said to be in “*dakun pase*”. Further a Tamil inscription at Budumuttawa in Vanni Hatpattu, dated in the eighth year of Śrī Apaiya Salamekac-Cakravarttikal Jaya Báhu Tevar, mentions Śrī Vira Báhu Devar, whom I take to be Mānābharaṇa.

It now remains to ascertain the boundaries of the Southern Country in the time of Parākrama Báhu and Gaja Báhu. In Mahāvamsa, Chapter LXVIII., 6, we find that the southern boundary ran from Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak) to the sea and included Pañcayojana. The northern and north-eastern frontiers are given in Chapter LXIX., 8 ff., as (1) Tabbá-ratṭha, (2) Giribá-ratṭha, (3) Moravápi, (4) Mahipála-ratṭha, (5) Pilaviṭṭhika-ratṭha, (6) Buddhagámaka-ratṭha, (7) Ambavana, (8) Bodhigámavare-ratṭha, wrongly given as Bodhigáma by Wijesinha, and (9) Kaṭṭakapetaka-ratṭha.

Giribá-ratṭha according to Chapter LXX., 125, was near the Kálavápi river or Kala Oya, on the opposite side of which was Angamu. There can be no doubt that Giribá-ratṭha was the country round Giribawa in the Mi-Oyen Egoda Korale of Vanni Hatpattu and that Angamu is Angomuwa in Eppawala Korale. The frontier here clearly was the Kala Oya. Tabbá-ratṭha presumably was on the same line and further to the west, probably the country round Tabbowa, which commanded the *mávata* from Anuradhapura to Puttalam. Moravápi



also must have been on or near the Kala Oya as it lay between Anuradhapura and the Southern Country (Mahāvamsa LXXII., 210); Nagaragiri after fighting in the neighbourhood of the old capital is found quartered here (*ib.* LXXII., 200). I am unable to identify it, but it is probably to be located not far from the present main road from Kurunegala to Anuradhapura, as it was not far from Kaṭṭiyágāma (*ib.* LXX., 67), the modern Kaṭṭiyāwa in Eppawala Korale on the north side of the river.

For the sake of convenience the identity of Buddhagāma may be considered here. Chapter LXVI., 19, 20, shows that it was situated "near unto the rock Siridevi": on the route from Badalatthali, identified correctly in my opinion by Parker with Batalagoḍa,\* it was beyond Siriyālagāma, doubtless the village from which the later Hiriyala Korale derived its name, and it was within a reasonable distance of Kalavewa judging from the story of the flight of Gokanna Nagaragiri described in Chapter LXVI., 35 ff. Mr. H. Storey had proposed the identification of Buddhagāma with Menikdena Nuwara in the Wagapanaha Udasiya Pattu of Matale North on the ground of the presence there of a tenth century inscription mentioning "Budgam Vehera" (Arch. Survey, 1908, pp. 14, 15); the fighting at Bubbula, the modern Bibile, at some distance south from Menikdena Nuwara (Mahāvamsa LXX., 99), made me disposed to disagree with him, but the matter is settled in his favour by the following quotation from Forbes' Journal published in the Ceylon Almanac of 1834, pp. 206, 207: "The great mountain of Nikwoolla near which these ruins are situated, was formerly called Heereedewatai Kandé," obviously the Siridevi of the Mahāvamsa. Having located Buddhagāma we can now deal with Mahipāla and

\* In the longer version of the last chapter of the Pūjāvaliya the name of this place is given as Badalagoḍa.

Pilaviṭṭhi, which must lie between it and Moravāpi. The former I would place provisionally in the neighbourhood of Madawachchiya or Kallanchiya on the old "Eppawala *māvata*": the first named place commands not only the Kahalla road but one towards Kalavewa. Pilaviṭṭhi, next to Mahīpāla, we know from Mahāvamsa LXXII., 196, to have been not far from Kalavewa, and I would place it provisionally and roughly in the neighbourhood of Galewela, commanding the roads from Dambulla to Seven Korales and from the south to Kalavewa.

The next point on the frontier after Buddhagāma was Ambavana, the modern Ambana, from which the Ambanganga takes its name. Then comes Bodhigāma-vara or Bogambara in the Matale Pallesiya Pattu; it was from this place that Parākrama's army attacked Laṅkāgiri or Laggala. Last of all is Kaṇṭakapetaka, representing some such name as Kaṭupota, which I am unable to identify.

One objection remains to the extension of Parākrama Báhu's father's principality so as to include the western half of the present Matale District: it is the statement in Mahāvamsa LXIV., 8, 9, that at Badalatthali the general Saṅgha "had been set to guard the boundary of the king's dominions." The Pali reads: "*sa raṭṭha sīmārakkhāya*," which might mean "to guard the boundary of his own country"; but "*sa*" may be rendered by "he" and has been so taken by the Sinhalese translators. Saṅgha therefore was set to guard the boundary of the *raṭa* of Badalatthali.

As we have seen Mānābharaṇa, the eldest of the three brothers, ruled at Puñkhagāma in the Southern Country and it was here that Parākrama Báhu was born. On the death of his father the young prince went with his mother Ratanāvali to Ruhuna, while his uncle Kittī Sirimegha took possession of his late brother's princi-



pality and gave the Doḷosdās and Aṭadās to Siri Vallabha. Parākrama's first act when grown up was to leave Ruhūṇa for the land of his birth "which should be the heritage of the sub-king" (Mahāvamsa LXIII., 42): he went therefore to Sirimegha's capital Saṅkhanāyakaṭṭhali, Saṅkhanāṭṭhali or Saṅkhatṭhali, where he was kindly received by his uncle. The prince now determined to ascertain "the real state of the upper provinces" as translated by Wijesinha (Mahāvamsa LXIV., 52). Why the word "paramaṇḍala" was so rendered is difficult to understand; it simply means "other country" and is sufficiently explained in the following verses as "the enemy's country," in other words the dominions of Gaja Báhu. With this object Parākrama set out from Saṅkhatṭhali by night, and travelling a distance of five *gāvutas* arrived at Pilipvatthu, "which was not far from the village Badalatṭhali" or Batalagoḍa (LXV., 1-5). After killing the general Saṅgha he passed through Siriyālagāma and finally reached Buddhagāma, which as we have seen was on Gaja Báhu's frontier; here he intrigued with that king's general Gokaṇṇa Nagara-giri of Kalavewa. Parākrama's uncle, fearful of being embroiled with Gaja Báhu, now sent troops to capture his nephew, but the prince hearing that they had reached Siriyālagāma and had there divided themselves into ten companies, retired to Saraggāma in the district of Mahātīla, namely Selagama in Matale,\* where he succeeded in ambushing the army. "And the victorious prince departed from that place, and, that he might calm the anxiety of his father [uncle], returned to the village Bodhigāma" (Mahāvamsa LXVI., 78). In this sentence we have two mistranslations: Parākrama

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\* I am obliged to Mr. H. Storey for this identification. The place is not the same as the Saragāma or Sarogāma of Mahāvamsa LXXI., 18, LXXII., 34, 63, which is Vilgomuwa on the Mahaveliganga.

"went," he did not "return," and his objective was Bodhigámavara or Bogambara. His intention doubtless was to allay his uncle's suspicions by going to a place at a distance from Polonnaruwa.

Parákrama having routed the troops sent after him crossed the frontier and went to Ranambura in the country of Lañkapabbata, that is Ranamure in Laggala Pallesiya Pattu. Thence he made a detour to the country of Ambavana or Ambana, fought at Khiravápa, and was all but captured at Návágiri. He then determined to cross into "paramaṇḍala," "entered a place called Janapada in the kingdom of Gaja Báhu" (LXVI., 110), and so came to Polonnaruwa. The title of Chapter LXVI. "The spying out the condition of the Paramaṇḍala" really applies to his intrigues at Gaja Báhu's capital.

When the prince determined to leave Polonnaruwa he "sent beforehand a great number of his followers to a place called Janapada" (LXVII., 22). He then left the city at night, passed the Khajjúrakavaḍḍhamána tank and Kánapaddáuda, crossed Silakhaṇḍa and arrived at Demeliyanaga in the village Opanámika in the morning. This place therefore may be located some 15 miles—a night's journey—from Polonnaruwa: Silakhaṇḍa—Galkaḍa or Galkaḍulla—thus may be in the Konduruwakanda range. At the village Maṅgalaba he met his own soldiers with whom he went to Janapada. Here he was met by a deputation from Kitti Sirimegha and being anxious to see his uncle proceeded to Saraggáma, whence he was conducted to Badalatthali and so to Sañkhatthali (*ib.* 32-82). The identity of the sites between Polonnaruwa and Selagama is doubtful. There are two *mávatas*, the one the old Trincomalee road branching off at Bibile from the old track to Anuradhapura, the other running along the north bank of the Ambanganga. The account of the campaign in Chapter LXX. shows that Janapada was



over against Ambavana and presumably north or north-east of Bubbula or Bibile: Maṅgalaba seems to represent some such name as Magul-ebé; a Makul-ebé is said locally to be between Konduruwawa and Puwakgaha Ulpota in Matale District.

Parākrama now succeeded to the principality of Kittī Sirimegha and set about the improvement of his realm. His first care was the restoration of the "causeway known as Koṭṭhabaddha" across the Deduru Oya, in connection with which he built a channel "up to the country of Rattakaravha," not Ratkerauwa in Atakalan Korale as supposed by Wijesinha, but the Ratkerauwa in the Kuda Galboda Korale of Vundavili Hatpattu, where in Chapter LXIX. was stationed the holder of the title of Malaya Rāja. "Afterwards, at the confluence of the two rivers Saṅkhavaḍḍhamāna [Hakvaṭunu Oya] and Kumbhīla-vānaka [Kimbulwana Oya] he caused the place Sūkhara-nijjhara to be dammed up," and connected it by a channel with the tank Mahāgallaka already referred to (LXVIII., 32-34).

He also rebuilt Paṇḍavāpi (*ib.* 39-42). Parker states: "As the context shows that it was not in the part of Ceylon over which his cousin Gaja-Bāhu ruled at that time, it may be the great abandoned tank now called Paṇḍikkulam, in the southern part of the Uva Province, which I have not examined. It is certainly not Paṇḍā-waewa, in the North-Western Province" (Ancient Ceylon, p. 410). But Uva was not in Parākrama Bāhu's dominions, and the tank in question must be sought somewhere between Pasyodun and the Kala Oya. It may be noted that the Paṇḍāveṇa rejected by Parker actually bears an inscription of Niṣṣaṅka Malla, whose custom it was to appropriate his predecessor's works.

Parākrama now prepared for war and commenced operations by tampering with the loyalty of Gaja Bāhu's

general in charge of Yatthikapdaka and Dumbara "in the great Malaya country," which he reduced. The identifications of Wijesinha seem to be correct. The Malaya Ráyar who was at Válikákhetta, which I identify with Vellavela in Anaivilundan Pattu near Battulu Oya, captured Mallaválána, and then went by sea to the pearl banks; for the termination *válána* should be compared the Karambavalána and Nellivalána of the Kaḍaimpota, which with Mannar lay along the sea coast. Meanwhile Nílagalla, "the captain of the borders at Moravápi," advanced to Kaṭiyágáma (Kaṭiyáwa). Gokaṇṇa Nagaragiri, Gaja Báhu's general at Kalavewa, now fought at Pilaviṭṭhi, the site of which has been discussed, and among other places at Jambukola and Kalalahallika. The last of these two villages appears in the list of tanks in Chapter LXVIII., 48: from Chapter LXX., 163, it seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Elahera. Jambukola may be Dambulla (cf. LXXX., 22), but as this must have been some way from the frontier perhaps represents Dambagolla in Gangala Pallesiya Pattu. Gokaṇṇa Nagaragiri subsequently abandoned his activities and shut himself up in the fortress at Kalavewa. Parákrama's general then attacked Janapada from Sura Ambavana or Ambana and also Lańkágiri or Laggala from Bogambara.

The prince now built a fort at Pilavasú, against which Gaja Báhu directed an army. To relieve the pressure Parákrama sent Rakkha Lańkánátha to take the Janapada country. This general proceeded to Ambavana, fought at Bubbula or Bibile in Wagapanaha from which perhaps it may be inferred that Parákrama had lost Buddhagáma, and succeeded in taking Janapada. To oppose him Gaja Báhu sent other generals who were defeated at Yagálla, and again troops from the Álisára country or Elahera. Lańkánátha, however, advanced and took Talathala or Talagoda on the northern bank of



the Ambanganga and the fortress of Áligáma "which is by the side of a river," namely Elagomuwa on the south bank of the same stream west of Talagoda.

Lañkánátha in spite of his successes had suffered loss (LXX., 124) and to make a diversion or, as the Mahāvamsa has it, to "divide Gaja Báhu's great army in twain" Parákrama despatched Deva Senāpati to the Giribá country on the Kala Oya. Arrived there the general built a fort and a bridge, crossed the river and fought at Apgamu or Angomuwa in Eppawala Korale and elsewhere in the North-Central Province. Mahinda Nagaragiri was sent to take Anuradhapura, which he did after fighting at Tissavápi: he was, however, invested in the old capital but was enabled to escape with the help of Deva and Malaya Ráyar. Nagaragiri is found at Moravápi later on (LXX., 199); so it may be presumed that no permanent conquest was achieved.

We now return to the Elahera country (*ib.* 162 ff). Máyágeha built forts at Kalalahallika and Nandámúlaka, and seized Álisáraka (Elahera) and the strongholds of Kaddúra and Kiráti. Gaja Báhu's forces occupied Vilána, but were driven out by Máyágeha from this place as well as from Mattikavápi, Uddhakúra, Adhokúra, and Násinna, the whole country of Álisáraka thus being reduced. Meanwhile Parákrama Báhu built a fort at Nálanda in Wagapanaha Udasiya Pattu. I am unable to identify most of these places, but in view of the confusion between  $\infty$  and  $\infty$  in badly preserved manuscripts, as shown by the variants Mahánágahula, -sula, -kula, I am inclined to read "Kiráti" as "Siráti" and to locate this place on the stream now called Híráti • Oya, which flows into the Ambanganga near Malu-  
weyaya.

Parákrama now decided to take Polonnaruwa (*ib.* 173 ff). Lankádhinátha accordingly set out for Talakattthali or Talagoda and engaged the enemy successively

at Rajakamata-sambádha, at Milánakhetta (possibly the same as Vilána), at Dara-aga, and at Maṅgalaba. Parákrama's commanders then assembled at Ambavana and the general advance began. Mahinda occupied Lāhulla, and Nagaragiri Hattanna, a place beyond Maṅgalaba (*ib.* 297), while Máyágeha reached Khandigáma, where the enemy were shut in on three sides in the pass and fled into Polonnaruwa, pursued as far as Koṇḍaṅgulika-kedára. At this juncture Māpābharapa of Ruhuna, who had advanced to the valley of Sobara, arrived at the capital to assist Gaja Báhu. The king, however, preferred to intrigue with Parákrama Báhu and abdicated in his favour after the investment and capture of the capital by that prince, while Māpābharapa retreated across the Mahaveliganga.

The results we have obtained are that in the twelfth century Ceylon was divided into three main divisions: (i.) the King's Country comprising the present Northern and North-Central Provinces as well as parts of Matale North and East, which last we know to have been held by Gaja Báhu from the Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription, and further the Malaya or hill country on that side; (ii.) the Southern Country, the boundaries of which have been given above; and (iii.) Ruhuna, which was subdivided into (a) Doḷosdās raṭa, roughly the Southern Province, with the capital at Mahánágakula, which for reasons which cannot be gone into here seems to be the modern Marakaḍa\* in Tangalla District, and (b) Aṭadās raṭa with Uddhanadvára as its chief city. "Aṭasahasa" occurs in an inscription at Piligama, 3 miles from Telulla

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\* Or perhaps Nakulugamuwa in the same district. In Mahawansa LXXV., I make the following identifications:—v. 63, Suvannamalaya=Ranmalakanda between Kandaboda Pattu and West Gíruwa Pattu; v. 78, Garul-aṭṭhakalañcha=atakalapanne (Sanskrit *garut*=parua); v. 92, Tambagáma=Tambagamuwa in Atakalan Korale; v. 99, Mahābodhikkhanda=Butkanda in Kolonna Korale; v. 100, Sūkārāli-Bheripāsána=Beralapanatara; v. 106, Nadibhanda=Obada in West Gíruwa Pattu.



(Müller, 77) and the division of this name thus must have corresponded roughly with Uva.

The Southern Country seems to have been originally a subdivision of the King's Country, which once marched with Ruhuna (Mahāvamsa LXVIII., 132). It was not identical with the later Māyā Rāṭa as it comprised the country between the Deduru Oya and Kala Oya, as well as Udugoda and Asgiri Korales of Matale, while it did not include Navadun and Kaḷugalboḍa (Navayojana and Kālagiri, Mahāvamsa LXXII., 92-95) or Dumbara and Harispattu. The Māyā Rāṭa, though doubtless a development of the Southern Country, is first mentioned in Mahāvamsa LXXI., 15, under Vijaya Bāhu III. Mahāvamsa LXIII., 42, states that the Southern Country should be the heritage of the sub-king. This division was assigned to the yuvarāja or mápá\* in the reigns of Aggabodhi I. and III., and Dāthopatisa II., and seems to have become the regular appanage of this prince from the time of Sena I.

I am unable to identify Saṅkhatthali the capital of Kittī Sirimegha but as it lay about five *gāvutas* or roughly ten miles from Badalatthali (the local *yojana* according to Rhys Davids' "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," p. 17, being from seven to eight miles in length) it may have been in the neighbourhood of Kurunegala or possibly in the extensive *gabaḍāgam* of Hawuluwa or Visinawaya. The location of Puṅkha-gāma is also obscure in spite of the large ḍāgoba built by Parākrama Bāhu on the site of his birth-chamber (Mahāvamsa LXXIX., 62); it certainly is not Pilagam-mana in Matale East or Alupota in Uva.

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\* For the equation yuvarāja=mápá, see the inscriptions on the pillars in the Council Chamber at Polonnaruwa. The nearest to the king on his right side has: *Sighāsanaye veḍe hun kaḷe yuvarāja-va sīti mápācanvahanse hindinā sthānayayi*; the next has: *Sighāsanaye veḍe hun kaḷe épāvarun hindinā sthānayayi*.

## HISTORIA INDIAE ORIENTALIS

## INTRODUCTION

The following account of Ceylon is taken from a little known Latin epitome, dated 1608, entitled:—

“The History of the East Indies, collected from various authors and arranged in accordance with the geographical situation of kingdoms, provinces and islands, throughout the coasts of India and Asia, as far as Japan, wherein are enumerated and pleasantly and briefly described the Position and natural Resources of the Lands and Islands, the Habits and Dress of the Kings and Peoples, their various absurd Religions and Superstitions, the achievements of the Portuguese and Dutch and their Trade with other matters worthy of wonder and note.

“By the author M. Gotardus Arthus, of Dantzic. Printed at Cologne by Wilhelm Lutzenkirch, in the year of Our Lord 1608.”

Concerning the author little is known. Revd. H. Hosten, S.J., Calcutta, who through the courtesy of Father J. Cooreman of Galle has kindly supplied the information, writes as follows:—

“G. Arthus, translated several travellers' relations for De Bry's collection. He began by translating from the German ‘Americae Pass vii....at Ulrico Fabro Stranbigensi...Francoforti 1699.’ He was then corrector of the college of Frankfort on the Main. This volume, *i.e.*, The History of the East Indies, he translated for De Bry in 1608. A. G. Camus, *Memorie sur la collection des Grands et petits voyages et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisitte Thenenot* (Paris 1802) states in several places that Arthus was a man of Dantzic.”

Arthus was probably an obscure hack who eked out his slender income by making translations.\* The last

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\* He is described in the title of the eulogistic Latin poems dedicated to him, attached to this volume as “D. Philosophiae Magister et polyhistoris Francofordianus.”



event of which he speaks is of the visit of Sebald de Weert to Ceylon in 1603 and his murder by the King of Kandy. As he writes in 1608 his authorities were probably persons who took part in the expedition and he is considerably earlier than Ribeiro 1685. The earlier histories of J. de Barros (died 1570) and D. de Couto (died 1616) were at his disposal. The chapters here translated are chapter xxxiv.—xxxv. The original is the property of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. I have given the paging of the original for convenience of reference.

This translation was made at the request of the late Mr. Advocate F. H. de Vos of Galle and he kindly supplied many of the annotations.

J. R. WALTERS, C.C.S.

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## HISTORIA INDIAE ORIENTALIS

A GOTARDO ARTHO.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## THE SITUATION OF CEYLON AND ITS VARIOUS PRODUCTS.

From the promontory of Cori\* or Cemariuit† near the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Bengal there is visible a large island, rising high above the sea, separated only by a short distance from the mainland. It is commonly called Ceilanum, but by the Arabs Ternasseri,‡ that is to say the land of Delight. Many maintain with Ioannes Barrius§ that it was the Taprobane of the ancients, although Mercator does not agree with this view. Its circumference is 240 leagues, its length about 78 and its breadth about 44. It is not far from the equator; its extreme northern point is hardly ten degrees from the equatorial line, so that it lies within the Torrid Zone and yet it enjoys a most temperate and salubrious climate, so that not a few think it was paradise.

## AN EARTHLY PARADISE. THE GREAT FERTILITY OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.

The soil is very fertile and covered with perennial vegetation. The trees are always bright with leaves and flowers and bear delicious fruit, amongst which are Assyrian apples|| of wonderful flavour and "Mala Medica" and the finest citrus.

The palms are of extremely fine growth and of spices there is a plentiful supply, for the precious cinnamon, cardamons, pepper, cloves and other spices are gathered

\* Travancore.

† Comarin.

‡ Tenasserim, a city and territory on the coast of the Peninsula of further India. It belongs to the ancient Kingdom of Pegu. Yule, *Hob. Job.*§ João de Barros, *Journal R.A.S. (C.B.)*, XX., No. 60.

|| Citron.



there. The country also abounds in game and fish of all kinds. Deer, wild boar, gazelles, hare and rabbits are found. There are countless herds of noble elephants, and you would scarcely find in the whole of India a better or a finer breed. Precious stones of every kind abound, such as sapphires, rubies, topaz, spinelli, granati, and other gems, save only the diamond. The mines of gold and silver are kept secret by the king for fear that foreigners should be induced by hope of gain to invade his kingdom. They have also iron and silver, and it is not easy to find anything in other countries which does not abound in this island, only the supply of rice is small, necessitating its importation from the Narsingan\* kingdom or from Bengal.

Very pleasant to the eye are the densely wooded hills rounded like an amphitheatre, which encircle a vast oblong plain, like an arena.

#### ADAM'S PEAK AND FOOTPRINT.

One of them, which is called Adam's Peak, rises to the height of almost seven leagues. Since there is a level plain on its summit, in the midst of which stands a rock two cubits high, bearing marks like footprints, the Indians believe that it was the site of paradise and do not doubt that these are the footprints of Adam the first man. Hence the place is so venerated by foreigners, that they flock thither as pilgrims from more than a thousand leagues distance and the journey is not made without difficulty for besides the other dangers and hardships of the way the only road to the summit is by means of pegs and iron chains fastened therein.

#### THE CINGALESE AND THEIR CUSTOMS.

The inhabitants are partly heathen, known as Cingalese and partly Mahometans and they are all of fair complexion, tall stature and pot bellied and as they are

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\* This is the name most frequently applied in the 16th and 17th centuries to the kingdom in South India otherwise called Vijayanagara or Bisnagar...Narasinga, a prince of Telugu, originally reigned here till 1508 and the Portuguese applied his name to the country. Yule, *Hob. Job.*

for the most part fat, they are fond of ease and pleasure. They walk abroad with the upper part of the body bare and their lower limbs clothed in the finest silk and cotton cloths. They wear girdles ornamented with gold and gems. Almost all of them are unwarlike, poor-spirited and unskilled in fight. Their food consists of milk, butter, cheese and rice and their drink of the juice of the palm. They are wealthy and wear their clothing modestly reaching from the waist to the ground. Those who are slight and of taller build use (thoraces) vests of mail, with ornamented rings. They have jewels hung from their ears and carry daggers. The women go about with the bosom uncovered, their garments, which are bright coloured and graceful, stretching from the waist to the feet. They are modest in demeanour and of comely figure. They cover their heads with their own hair which they twist and tie so skilfully without any silk or linen ribands, that you would think they wore a hair net or fillet. Round the neck they wear necklaces, and bracelets on their arms of gold set with gems and have their fingers and toes adorned with gold rings. They live in houses well enough built and furnished.

Their lives are spent in pleasure and they eat dainty food which their women know well to cook and to prepare. They abstain however from eating beef and drink no wine; some also are of the Brachman faith and use for food nothing which has life, regarding as gods and worshipping the animals which first meet them as they leave home in the morning.

#### THE NINE KINGDOMS OF CEYLON.

Formerly the island had four kings, given up to heathen superstitions, but at present it is divided into 9 kingdoms or provinces, viz., Colombo, Jaffnapitan, Trinquinámale, Batecolum, Villasse,\* Tananaca,†

\* Wellassa Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 37.

† Tanavaca. temp. Barros: Dinavaca in later Portuguese writers. Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 34.



Laula,\* Galle and Cande. Of these Colombo is the capital, but Cande lately restored to independence to day hardly acknowledges its supremacy.

#### WHO FIRST DISCOVERED CEYLON.

The first Portuguese to discover the island was Laurentius Almeida. He was sent about the year 1506 by his father Franciscus, the Viceroy of India, to pursue some Moorish Merchantmen, who were trying to reach Arabia by way of the Maldive Islands. Sailing through unknown seas, he was driven by the force of the current upon the seacoast of this island and carried to the port of the kingdom of Galle, where having entered into a treaty with the king by intermediaries, he set up on the shore a column with an inscription to commemorate his visit and sailed back with the good news to his father, Franciscus.

#### HOW THE FORT AT COLOMBO WAS FIRST BUILT BY THE PORTUGUESE.

Some years after, about the year of Our Lord 1516,† the Governor Lupus Soarius‡ sailed to Ceylon with 700 soldiers intending to establish friendship and commercial intercourse with the king§ of Colombo in particular, because he had heard on good authority that the most esteemed cinnamon plantations were in his dominions.

When Soarius came within sight of Ceylon and examined the coast-line of Colombo, the place struck him as suitable for a landing for his ships and for building a fort. Thereupon he sent a message to the king about a friendly alliance and asked for leave to put up a little fort to serve as a resting place and a secure store house for merchandise against the attacks of the Moors.

It would be, said he, not so much a safeguard and protection for the Portuguese as for the king himself

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\* Yala, Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 37.

† De Barros states that the expedition started 18th September, 1518.

‡ Lopo Soarez de Albergaria.

§ Dharma Parakrama Bahu.

and his subjects. The king was of the Brahmin religion and not without reason feared the power of the Portuguese, but considering how the neighbouring king of Cochin had after entering into a close friendship with the Portuguese in a short time risen from a slender fortune to great wealth, he was snared by hopes of the like advantage and gave his consent to a treaty and to the building of a fort, though not without anxiety and hesitation.

However, he changed his mind and did not long remain in that purpose; for he listened to the counsels of the Moors and decided to resist the Portuguese. Forthwith he hurriedly raised a stockade and pointed several iron cannon to prevent the Portuguese advancing. Soarius seeing this, stopped the work of building for the time and brought out his men to battle and such was their valour that the islanders were put to flight and their works destroyed.

Then Soarius extended his engineering work, dug a trench from the harbour to the sea and on the inner side of this moat raised a wall with cannon pointed against the enemy.

#### THE KING OF COLOMBO BECOMES A TRIBUTARY OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

The king, startled by the unexpected building of the work which was so quickly rising, soon sent an envoy to ask for pardon for his hasty and ill-considered actions done at the prompting of others; and showed himself ready to renew the alliance; Soarius, however, refused to accept any satisfaction for such treacherous dealings, unless the king submitted himself to the sovereignty and dominion of King Emanuel of Portugal, and promised an annual tribute. Finally it was agreed between them that the king of Colombo on the one part should pay by way of yearly tribute to Emanuel 120,000 lbs. of cinnamon, 12 rings adorned with sapphires and rubies and 6 elephants and that King Emanuel on the other part should receive the king of Colombo into his allegiance



and should defend him from the assaults of his enemies both by land and sea. On these terms peace was made and without further delay, Soarius advanced to build the fort in the place fixed. After he had finished the work, he left Joannes Silveria\* there with a strong garrison and returned to Cochin, having accomplished the business as he had intended.

#### THE PORTUGUESE REPAIR THE FORT AT COLOMBO.

In 1521 the king of Portugal received despatches and news of affairs in Ceylon and gave orders that the fort should be strengthened and carefully guarded and the garrison increased, in order to protect so fortunate and profitable a trade. For this purpose Lupus Brittus† set out for Ceylon with reinforcements of engineers and soldiers and took over the fort from Joannes Silveria. He caused a quantity of oyster shells to be brought from the neighbourhood and manufactured mortar as the Indians do. As the old walls were already in ruins, he erected new ones, thoroughly cleared out the moat, and strengthened it with a retaining wall.

The islanders were the more angry at this, because they suspected, not without reason, that these preparations were aimed against their liberty and security.

Their suspicious fears were fostered by the Moors until the Portuguese name was held in the bitterest hatred and execration. First they stopped the supply of merchandise and provisions to the fort and soon their boldness grew such that if any Portuguese walked abroad any distance from the fort, they shot at him or surrounded him in some defile and killed him.

#### THE KING OF COLOMBO IS PUNISHED BY THE PORTUGUESE.

These doings roused Brittus' anger and with 150 men he made a fierce attack on the town of Colombo, which almost adjoins the fort. The islanders were taking their ease and seized with panic, suddenly took to flight, abandoning in the moment of danger their

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\* Dom João de Silveira, nephew of Lopo Soarez.

† Lopo de Brito.

household goods, their trembling wives and little children. Soon, however, the alarm was raised throughout the countryside and 2,000 of them gathered under arms to besiege the Portuguese in their fort.

By dint of unceasing efforts, they raised an earth-work against the wall and day and night plied the Portuguese with their fire. They also raised two bastions of palm trees upon mounds of earth and by firing their arrows and javelins down from above made it impossible for the garrison to venture out upon the wall. Realizing the danger from this, Brittus decided to make a sortie. On the next day about noon he ordered his captain to make a sudden feint attack upon them from the sea and to bombard the bastions with the larger artillery; while the enemy were engaged on that side, he and 350 of his men rushed their outposts on the other and while they were in confusion after this bold attack hurled them back from the wall, and charging across in a single rush carried their lines, captured both bastions and drove them back *pêle mêle* from the fort. Upon the capture of the bastions, panic and confusion arose among them and they took to their heels. Brittus pursued them some way until he came to wooded country and there halted contented with the day's achievement and before they could recover from their alarm, retired to the fort. This day ended the siege.

The king\* had lost some of the chief of his friends and cursing the advice of the Moors gave up his hopes of taking the fort and all his warlike plans and sent to parley with Brittus, craving pardon for his misdeeds and asking for peace. This was readily granted by the Portuguese and matters in Ceylon were restored to the same condition as before.

#### THE KING OF COLOMBO IS ATTACKED BY THE KING OF CALICUT.

About the year 1538 the Samorin of Calicut began an energetic warfare in Ceylon and the Governor sent

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\* Wijaya Bahu, who succeeded Parakrama Bahu, c. 1520.



Michael Ferreria\* and a small fleet to the king's help. Ferreria engaged the men of Calicut in battle, defeated them and once more restored the island to peace.

#### QUARRELS AT COLOMBO SETTLED BY THE PORTUGUESE.

Now the king of Colombo had three nephews, who were his heirs according to the custom of the country. From their natural greed of power they were not content to be kept out of the kingdom which they desired, during the old age of the king and they therefore formed a plot and murdered him, and divided the royal treasures and domains among themselves. The eldest, by name Parea Pandar,† occupied the royal throne and gave justice to the people; the youngest whose name was Madunius‡ had command of the military forces, and possessed the tribute and the real power. The second§ brother had died a few days after the conspiracy. At first they seemed to live in agreement, but it was not long before serious dissension broke out between them. Parea in order to strengthen himself against his brother sent letters to the King of Portugal begging that he might adopt his daughter's son|| as heir and exclude Madunius from succession to the throne, contrary to the usual custom. This request was granted. Madunius was enraged and lost no time in declaring war on his brother and besieging Cotta.¶ The king, however, so as not to be thought to rely on the walls of his fort rather than on his courage in fight led his forces out of the town and halted in a suitable spot. He had in his

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\* Miguel Ferreira, Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 104.

† Bhuwaneka Bahu Bandara. He was baptised as Dom João Parea Pandar. = (Periya Bandara). Rib. Ceilão, p. 13. Ceylon Portuguese Era, pp. 61-63.

‡ Mayadunne.

§ Para Raja Sinha or Rayigam Bandara. This statement is incorrect. He did not die till 1538.—Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 75.

|| Dharmapala.—Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 86.

¶ A.D. 1536.—Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 73.

camp a company of Portuguese auxiliaries; one of whom, a private soldier,\* whether by accident or deliberate design is uncertain, killed him with a leaden bullet.

Thereupon the leaders of the army retired to the city and set Parea's nephew† on the throne of his fathers, crowning him with all the insignia of royalty. Madunius however, pressed them hard and refused on any terms to raise the seige, so that they begged the Portuguese Governor for fresh assistance. The latter had a fleet fitted out without delay and decided to undertake the venture. As pretexts for the war the old treaty with the king of Colombo was put forward and the chivalrous duty of defending the boy king almost surrounded by his foes. But the secret motive inspiring the expedition was the story which the Governor had heard that a treasure of gold and silver had been found in Colombo, with which, if he obtained it, he expected easily to enrich himself and his followers. With this purpose and intent the Governor Noronia‡ set forth for Colombo and sailed 200 leagues with his fleet from the town of Goa. Having landed he first concentrated all his efforts on the search for the treasure and after embittering the townsmen by his over-eagerness in this quest, so much so that not a few deserted to the enemy, he at last with immense labour raked together a sum of 100,000 aurei. Madunius meanwhile gathering all his forces fortified himself in Ceitavaca,§ a city nine leagues from Colombo, but the Governor advanced thither with his army, stormed the city, captured it and burned it to the ground.

Thus the kingdom of his ward was firmly established and with the treasure which he had discovered and seized he returned well satisfied to Goa leaving a strong garrison in the Colombo fort.

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\* Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 111. He was a mulatto named Antonio de Barcelos.

† Dharmapala Kumarayo, 1551.

‡ Dom Affonso de Noronha.

§ Sitawaka.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

**CONCERNING THE CANDIAN KINGDOM IN CEYLON  
AND ITS POWERFUL MONARCH****A DESCRIPTION OF THE CANDIAN KINGDOM IN CEYLON.**

We have mentioned above that the kingdom of Cande in Ceylon is to-day second to none in wealth and power and the truth of this the reader will easily gather from what we are going to narrate. The king of Cande is master of a fairly extensive district, full of settlements and towns and thickly populated. His country produces everything necessary to sustain life, and is as fruitful as any land in our territory, that is if there were anyone to pay the necessary attention to agriculture. For the Cingalese (such is the name borne by the islanders, wherever they dwell, as we stated above) though they are physically strong and able cannot endure toil and adversity and as they almost all are well to do they think it shameful to work. In taking their meals they place their food upon the leaves of trees, but if it has been once handled they will not touch it, nor will they offer it to any person but immediately throw it to the dogs to eat. For there is no one of so lowly a condition among them as to think of putting to his mouth what another has previously touched or tasted.

**THE NUMEROUS PRECIOUS STONES OF THE CANDIAN  
KINGDOM**

It is in this kingdom especially that precious stones are found in their greatest plenty. Gems of all kinds are found in the rivers if you wash out the sand and in the drains of the town of Cande, so that it is plain that if it were permitted to dig and prospect there a great quantity of precious stones would be found. So plentiful is the supply of rice in the kingdom that large amounts can be exported to other places.

## THE KINGDOM OF CANDE NOT SUBJECT TO THE PORTUGUESE.

But what is most important is that though in other parts no trader may do business without permission and other kingdoms are tributary to the Portuguese, Cande is altogether free from this burden and pays no tribute to the Portuguese power.

## HOW JOHN OF AUSTRIA BECAME KING OF CANDE

That you may learn how the Candian King rid himself of this burden, you must know that after the death of Darma, king of Ceylon, (who, some writers say, was a barber, others that he was the illegitimate son of King Ragusius, who killed his father and seized the kingdom) there was in the kingdom of Cande a certain Mudaliyar or Chief captain, the son of an influential man, whom the Portuguese had previously baptized in Colombo and named John of Austria.\*

This man with the hearty support not only of the army but of his fellow Cingalese, being already powerful in wealth and influence, made himself king and endeavoured, contrary to the expectations of the Portuguese, to extirpate them from his kingdom.

## CATHARINE, QUEEN OF CEYLON, IS BROUGHT TO CANDE

At this date there survived a daughter of the late king,† whom the Portuguese had christened Catharine. They now used all their endeavours to make her queen and give her in marriage to Peter Lopes de Sosa,‡ Governor of Malabar, and therefore collecting a large army from Goa and other parts they escorted her into the Candian realm. Seeing the powerful forces which Peter Lopes brought with him and distrusting his own strength, John of Austria decided to retire before this attack and leaving his capital took to the jungle country with a few soldiers. Then concentrating all his forces

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\* Wimala Dharma alias Konappu Bandara alias Dom João (Rib. Ceilão, p. 11).

† Jayawera Bandara.

‡ Pedro Lopes de Sousa.



on the approaches to the city, he prevented any supplies from being brought in and put to the sword all the Portuguese stationed outside it. Lopes reduced to great straits at last marched out and occupied with his forces a fairly clear space, in order to engage his adversary in open fight.

They fought upon a Sunday\* in the year 1590 and for a long time the fortunes of the day were doubtful, but at last Lopes was defeated and killed;† his elephants, of which he had brought 40, were taken; his soldiers were either slain or captured and enslaved. After this bloody victory had been achieved, John returned to his capital and began to exercise his royal power without let or hindrance.

He married Catherine,‡ the late king's daughter and ruled his kingdom in peace, destroying the forts which the Portuguese in their flight to Colombo had everywhere abandoned and applying all his efforts to strengthening his kingdom.

#### THE FORTIFICATION OF THE CANDIAN KINGDOM AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE

He began also to build a royal fortress and many temples and adorned the city with towers and other buildings after the Christian style. This work was done by the Portuguese taken captive in the battle.

He also strongly fortified himself against Portuguese attacks by building forts and outposts throughout his kingdom, from time to time devising fresh schemes against them.

#### THE PORTUGUESE ENDEAVOUR TO RECOVER THE CANDIAN KINGDOM

Four years after the battle, Hieronymus Ovedo,§ Commander of the army in Ceylon, began to attack his kingdom in various ways but all his attempts failed until

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\* Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 282, gives 16th October, 1594.

† Ceylon Portuguese Era, Chapter XIII., note 75.

‡ Rib. Ceilão p. 88.

§ N. Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

on the orders of the king of Spain, he proceeded to open war. When it came to the battle, John attacked him with such valour that had he not used all his influence to prevent his forces from scattering he would without doubt have suffered the same fate as Lopes.

But knowing well how to keep his men in hand and to fight a retiring action, he sustained their attacks for 5 days, though not without heavy losses, until he at last got back to Colombo. Henceforth the Portuguese did not venture again on an open battle, though from time to time both sides employed their forces in guerilla warfare, making raids from their advanced fortified posts.

#### THE DUTCH COME TO CEYLON AND ARE WELCOMED BY THE KING OF BATTICALOA

In 1602 the Dutch with three ships under the command of Admiral George Spilberg\* arrived in Ceylon and entered into a close friendship with the above mentioned king, John of Austria. At first they called at the port of Batecolum and were most kindly received by the king, who gave them permission to trade throughout the whole of his territory with his subjects, but as they were unable to obtain there sufficient pepper and cinnamon to load their ships and had heard from the king various reports of the power of the king of Kandy, they sent a messenger to find out his wishes and attitude towards them.

On his return the messenger bore letters in which the king invited the Admiral to lay aside business for the time and pay him the compliment of a visit, shewing himself full of friendship and kindness towards him. The Admiral therefore set out with his companions and servants, 10 in number, and was first honourably received by the king of Batecolum, who supplied him not only with servants but with elephants and a sedan chair in which he could be carried with three of his company, who were unable to walk, into the territory of the king

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\* Joris Van Spilbergen (31st May, 1602.)



of Lanka. That king also received him no less honourably and arranged for his transport to the palace of the king of Trincomalie. Everywhere they received free entertainment and were given beds to sleep in veiled with white curtains, which is a signal mark of honour in that land.

When they were a day's journey from Cande the king sent his own litter with several elephants to meet them, adorned with princely trappings and covered with a rich tapestry. He shewed himself extremely solicitous as to their health and caused food and drink to be brought them every hour, and wine, which is produced in that country, and in strength, flavour and colour is not unlike Lusitanian wine.

#### HOW G. SPILBERG WAS RECEIVED BY THE KING OF CANDE

When they reached a river\* not far from the capital, they were bidden to halt and await the coming of the King's Captain,† who came up after an hour or two with a splendid company. He welcomed the Admiral and conducted him to the city. About 1,000 men-at-arms accompanied them with several standards captured not long since from the Portuguese. There were also flute players and others who by raising a din on various instruments testified their joy.

When they entered the city and passing the palace approached the lodging prepared for them, they were welcomed with loud acclamations and the discharge of many cannon. Their lodging was adorned in Portuguese style and the king's Captain and several Portuguese remained with them to attend on them.

#### G. SPILBERG SALUTES THE KING IN THE NAME OF MAURICE

The next day the king sent to their lodging a number of horses with richly caparisoned saddles and bridles and invited the Admiral to attend the palace. He took

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\* The Maha Weli Ganga.

† Manuel Dias, Chief Mudaliyar.

with him some presents for the king and paid his respects laying them at the king's feet.

The king, who was robed in white, handed them to his wife and son to examine and walked up and down with the Admiral in conversation on various subjects. As regards the purchase of cinnamon and pepper they could come to no agreement as to price. When the Admiral wished to take his leave and return to his lodging the king asked him what price he was willing to pay for these spices; the Admiral answered: "It is not for spices that I have travelled hither but in order to carry out the orders of Prince Maurice, to tender his salutations to your Majesty and offer his friendship and services." Hearing this the king was greatly delighted and seemed to accept the offer of friendship most gratefully, for he seized the Admiral round the waist and raised him a short way off the ground; promising to give him all the pepper and cinnamon, which he then had in store. This was not however more than 3,000 lbs. He excused himself for the poor supply because so far they had not paid much attention to the business. So saying he took leave of the Admiral who, before he went, bade his trumpeters sound and his musicians play an air, whereat the king was highly pleased and caused his own pipe players to accompany the Admiral as he departed with a mighty din.

#### THE KING OF CANDE ENTERTAINS THE DUTCH ADMIRAL AT A BANQUET

Next day the king again sent chargers and invited the Admiral and his companions to a banquet; and when he entered the palace led him to a banquetting hall laid with the most valuable carpets and splendidly decorated. There they found many Spanish chairs set for them and a banquet prepared on an oblong table after the Christian fashion. The Admiral was magnificently entertained and presented the king with a portrait of Prince Maurice in armour on horseback, and the king expressed the great pleasure that he received from it. The Admiral



remained five days and could not withdraw earlier, as the king never ceased inquiring about the condition of the provinces of Holland and the victories of Maurice, whose picture he had placed in a prominent position so as to be always before his eyes. The Admiral was also taken to the Palace of the queen as a token of respect, and saw her majesty and the royal children clothed in the Christian fashion. There the king swore an oath that if the United Provinces and Maurice wished at any time to found a fort or outpost in his dominions he and his queen and children were ready to carry stones and mortar on their backs for it and he would grant them the best and most suitable site for the purpose.

These promises he confirmed by letters addressed to the Prince and the States.

#### TWO HOLLANDERS ARE LEFT WITH THE KING OF CANDE

The king made many presents to the Admiral and as he took unbounded delight in musical instruments requested that some might be given him, the Admiral presented him not only with various instruments but sent him also two lads very skilled in all kinds of instrumental music. The king was very gratified and received the young men into his palace and wished one of them to become one of his private bodyguard. He also began to learn Dutch and called his kingdom "New Flanders," so that it was clear the coming of the Dutch was pleasing to him.

#### SEBALD WERTIUS MAKES AN EXPEDITION TO THE CANDIAN KING

Far different at a later date was the fate of a second Dutch Admiral, Sebald Wertius,\* at the court of this same King John. He sailed to this island in the year 1603 with several ships and having heard of the kindness shewn to George Spilberg shortly before by the Candian king, he determined to tender his salutations to the monarch.

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\* Sebald de Weert. *Orientalist*, Vol. III., p. 68.

He set out with six companions and met everywhere great kindness and received free entertainment until at last he reached the royal city. When he was some way from it, the king sent his palanquin and 100 men-at-arms to meet him and arranged for him to be conducted in a splendid procession into the city with much firing of guns between two lines of his subjects drawn up on either side of the street as far as the lodging prepared for him.

SEBALD WERTIUS IS RECEIVED HOSPITABLY BY THE  
CANDIAN KING

Next day he attended the palace with his gifts and there found the portrait of Prince Maurice. The king, his son and daughter in gorgeous robes asked him through an interpreter, whose subject he was and what was the cause of his visit. He replied that he had come from that country which the Portuguese call Flanders, subject to the States General and to the Prince whose picture was before him in order to salute the king on behalf of his Prince.

These words filled the king, his princes and counsellors with joy and he asked many questions as to the Dutch and Prince Maurice and finally asked the Admiral to assist him in the following undertaking. He proposed with 20,000 men to attack the Portuguese in Colombo; meanwhile he begged the Dutch Admiral to blockade the harbour with his ships and prevent them receiving any assistance from Goa.

At first Wertius refused, but on the king remarking that he would never forget such a kindness and always be grateful for it to the Dutch and on his promising to hand over to the Dutch all the forts which he should win by driving out the Portuguese, the Admiral at last consented and undertook to give these instructions to his Dutch fleet now in the harbour of Acenum\* and to return after a short time with his forces.

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\* Acheen.



SEBALD WERTIUS DECIDES TO ASSIST THE CANDIAN KING  
AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE

Wertius took his leave of the king and departed loaded with numerous presents and was conducted by the king's attendants to join his companions. Everywhere he enjoyed free entertainment so that in the course of the whole journey of more than 40 leagues, save as regards the gifts presented to the king, he spent not a penny from his own purse.

A.D. 1603.

He returned next year with a fleet of seven ships and informed the king by letter of his arrival. The king expressed his gratitude but desired him as he himself was engaged in besieging the city of Nanicravar<sup>a</sup> to steer his fleet towards Point de Galle for he had determined he said to attack on land at the first opportunity the fort which the Portuguese held there, promising that when he had captured it he would pay the Dutch a thousand lbs. of cinnamon and a thousand lbs. of pepper yearly.

On receipt of this message Wertius held a council and decided to steer a course thither and immediately wrote a reply to the king that he would gladly accede to his request at whatever time the king thought convenient.

Meanwhile it chanced that before the Dutch left Batecolum, they intercepted and captured three or four Portuguese ships sailing from Cochin to Nagapatam and thence to Malacca.

On the king hearing of this he set out at once towards Batecolum urgently requesting Wertius by letters not to release their common enemies, the Portuguese, but either to kill them himself on the spot or else keep them prisoners till his arrival.

Wertius however had already given his promise to the Portuguese prisoners that he would be content with confiscating their goods and would save their lives and

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<sup>a</sup> Manicrawary, close to Karadenya. *Orientalist*, Vol. III., p. 72.

did not intend to break his word. He therefore placed them all in two ships and sent them away in safety.

Hearing that the king was not far from Batecolum, he landed with 200 men-at-arms and hastened to meet him. When they arrived at Batecolum Wertius begged the king to come as far as the harbour and do him the honour of inspecting the Dutch ships.

#### SEBALD WERTIUS IS KILLED BY THE CANDIAN KING WITH 49 OF HIS COMRADES

The king replied that he did not care to do so that day and requested him to send his men back to the fleet, and to remain himself with him till next day. Wertius obeyed this order and sent away his followers but began to press the king and importune him with some persistency to come on board his fleet, finally threatening that unless the king granted his request, he would not go to Point de Galle.

The king thought he was nursing some treacherous intention and at once ordered him and his companions, of whom 49 still remained on shore, to be bound and put to death.

Shortly after he sent a letter to the Dutch warning them at some length if they wished to preserve his friendship, not to use such importunity in their dealings with him and not to release without his permission his enemies, the Portuguese, whom they might chance to capture.

#### THE TEMPLES IN THE CANDIAN KINGDOM ADORNED WITH STATUES

There are many temples in this kingdom, adorned with numerous statues and with gold and silver ornaments. The statues are for the most part taller than the mast of a ship. The temples are built of squared and wrought stone, with vaulted roofs so that they are in no wise inferior to European churches. There is in this kingdom a State called Bintenne, nine leagues distant from Cande, very famous for its renowned temple, the



foundation or base of which is 130 paces in circumference. It rises to a very great height and is whitened all over, save the extreme apex or summit, which like the pyramids is coated with gold and when the sun casts its rays upon it, dazzles the eyes of beholders. It has also a four-sided tower built and decorated with great skill.

#### THE MONASTERIES AND MONKS IN CANDE

There is also a monastery there for the monks who are seen everywhere walking in the streets in yellow robes, carrying umbrellas to protect their heads from the sun. For they are shaven like our own monks and even carry rosaries in their hands, though not adorned with the cross.

Their lips are always moving as though they were muttering something to themselves and they have an appearance of great sanctity so that they are in high estimation and are exempt and free from all labour and public burdens.

Their monastery is planned so as almost to recall one of our own. For it has porticoes, shrines, chapels and other things, covered everywhere with golden ornaments. The statues to be seen in the shrines and chapels are very numerous and of both sexes. They are said to represent persons who have excelled others in leading honourable and pious lives.

They are placed for the most part upon the altars of the chapels and dressed in robes glittering with silver and gold; in front of them stand candelabras supported by gilded statues of boys, and day and night wax candles are always to be seen burning there.

Every hour monks flock to these chapels to perform their prayers and the other offices of their religion.

While the Dutch were there there was a solemn festival\* celebrated at which all the monks assembled and marched in fair array, two and two, through the city.

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\* Ceylon Portuguese Era, p. 368.

Their Abbot was seated upon an elephant and held in his hands raised above his head a gilded staff glittering with gold and silver.

#### THE ABBOT OR CHIEF OF THE MONKS IN THE CANDIAN KINGDOM

There advanced before him a number of monks in good order, some playing upon various musical instruments, such as horns, drums, flutes, cymbals, tinkling bells and basins, others carrying candles and burning torches. Behind him followed many more also by two and two.

Before the chief priest left the city and again returned to it with this sacred procession, the most beautiful maidens indulged in various sports, dancing together, and springing up and down with wonderful agility. They danced with the upper part of the body bare as far as the waist, with the lower limbs covered in coloured skirts and their arms, ears and hands adorned with gold and jewellery.

#### IDOLATRY IN CANDIAN KINGDOM

Every day some of the inhabitants are seen prostrate before the temples and shrines making their prayers. First they cast themselves upon the ground; then they rise, and joining their hands over their head mumble words to themselves in a low voice.

But this whole country is full of wickedness; for when anyone is attacked with disease, he betakes himself at once to the idols and offers sacrifice to them, for which end they keep baskets in their houses, in which they collect each day things which they may offer as sacrifice hoping in this way to gain an easier relief from their misfortunes. When some solemn festival is to be celebrated many offerings are made to idols.

One of their idols has the head of an elephant, the chest and arms of a man, and the feet of a goat.

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\* A little bell.



In the temple of great size, which is visible to persons sailing from Point de Galle to the harbour of Batecolum, there is a lofty statue of surpassing height, holding a drawn sword in its hand.

Of this statue the Cingalese relate a miracle—namely, that when King John of Austria, who always mocked at this statue, once entered the temple, the image brandished the sword in its hand and moved it as though threatening to strike him so that the king was struck with terror.

If this is true, we must ascribe it to the work of the devil who wished in this way to establish this idolatrous worship.

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## EXCERPTA MALDIVIANA.

BY H. C. P. BELL.

## No. 1. Maldivian Government Permit.

The original Maldivian document, reproduced to two thirds size on Plate I, was given to the writer (then attached to H. M. Customs, Galle) by the *Málim*, or Master, of a *Máldive Ođi*, which had been driven into Weligama Bay by stress of weather in September 1885, nearly forty years ago.

It came to light somewhat recently, when a miscellaneous assortment of Maldivian Papers was being overhauled.

The document is a form of "Permit" issued by the Maldivian Government (at that time under the seal of the Sultán, but now-a-days stamped with that of the *Bođu Bađerigé*, or Kachcheri) to the *Atoluveri*, or Revenue Officer, of Haddummatí Atol, on behalf of an islander named Kuđa Futu of Mundú, for the construction of a "*Furedda Ođi*," or vessel intended for Foreign Trade, at Daĩbidú, another Island in the same Atol.

Given below are :—(a) Line-for-line Transcript of the *Tána* writing;\* with (b) Word-for-word meanings in English underneath†; (c) Notes; and (d) a running Translation.

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\* Like Arabic, read from right to left. The two particular *Tána* letters *avieni* and *ravieni* employed with *sukun* for (i) duplication of consonants and (ii) silent termination of words, appear respectively transcribed in brackets thus :—(Δ), (Ξ).

† Valuable aid towards a better understanding of the document has been kindly rendered by my friends I. Ahmad Didi, *Kuđa Doriméná Kilagefánu*, and I. 'Abdul Hamíd Didi Effendí, Maldivian Government Representative at Colombo, both sons of A. Ibráhím Didi, *Bođu Doriméná Kilagefánu*, the present aged Prime Minister at Malé.



Transcript<sup>1</sup>

HUWA'L GHANI



He (God) is richest in bounty.

- (1) AS-SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD 'IMĀD-UD-DĪN  
The Sultān Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn<sup>2</sup>  
ISKANDAR<sup>4</sup>  
Iskandar.
- (2) KULA SUNDURA KA(Δ)TIRI BOVANA  
of pure race a Kshatriya of the World  
MAHĀ RADUN<sup>5</sup>  
Great King
- (3) HA(Δ)DUNMATI<sup>4</sup> VĀRĀ HAVĀLAVE  
of Haddummati (Atol) the revenue in charge of  
HURI ALAKĀI RA(R)YA-  
(who) is to the servant and to the inhabit-
- (4) -TU ENME FAQĪR<sup>7</sup> ALUNA(R) VIDĀLU  
ants all poor servants (this is) the expressed  
FATE<sup>8</sup> FURA BA-  
Order (Paper). The Ancient
- (5) -NDĀRA<sup>9</sup> KIBAIN MUNDŪ<sup>10</sup> KUDA FUTU  
Government from of Mundū Kuḍa Futu  
ALĀ HAVĀLA-  
servant authorised
- (6) -VE FURA(R)DE OPIYE(R)<sup>11</sup> BENDUMA(R)  
is (for) Foreign (trade) an Ōḍi for the building  
AN DUVA-  
(of) former days
- (7) -HU 'ĀDAIN FURA(R)DE  
according to the (usual practice) (for) Foreign (trade)  
OPI BANNĀN HA-  
an Ōḍi to build
- (8) -RUGE ALĀ MAGUN  
a shed of putting up in the (usual) manner  
DABIDŪ-GA<sup>12</sup> HARUGE ALĀI DĪ  
at Dāmbidū a shed (you should) erect (and) give.
- (9) RU(R) KAPĀ MAGUN<sup>13</sup>  
Coconut trees of cutting in the (customary) manner  
SATĒKA FANSĀS RU(R) KAPĀ-  
100 50 coconut trees (you) must get cut





perhaps by virtue of supposed descent from the wide-ruling *Iskandar Dhul'ikarnein* ('the two-horned'), a traditional Persian King of the First Race, contemporary of Abraham, and tenth descendant from Noah". (*Bell: The Maldivé Islands*, 1882, p. 76).

5. *Birudas*:—Honorific Sanskritic-Sinhalese epithets, sometimes lengthy, were attached to each Sultán, or Sultána, from the first Sultán Muhammad-ul-Ádíl (A. C. 1153-4). Variants occur in extant Annual Missives of the 18th Century. These *birudas* have been curtailed since the 19th Century to the stereotyped phraseology "*Kula Sundura Kattiri Bovana Mahá Radun*." On their coins Máldive Rulers have long styled themselves in Arabic *As-Sultán ul bar va'l baḥr* "Sultán of Land and Sea, i.e., World". *Loc. cit.* p. 63.

6. *Haddummatí Atol*:—Shaped like a ham from N.E. to S.W. Lies between 73°.14' and 73°.36', longitude; 2°.7' and 1°.45' North latitude, it stretches approximately 17½ miles both from North to South and from East to West at broadest. Separated from Huvadú Atol on the South by the One and Half Degree Channel, and on the North from Kolūmadūlu Atol by the Veimandú Kaḍu Channel.

The inhabited islands (13 in all) lie along the Eastern reef, and round that to South as far as Mávaru on the South-West.

A very thriving Atol. Historically, too, much in evidence; *inter alia* its largest Island, Isdú, having added one, if short-lived (A. C. 1701-1704), dynasty, to those of more than eighty Máldive Sultáns; and another Island, Gan, being the birth-place of two of the compilers of the *Tárikh*, or Chronicle of the Máldive Sultáns, viz: the *Kázis*, Hájí Haṣan Táj-ud-dín and his grandson Hájí Íbráḥím Shiráj-ud-dín.

Buddhist Ruins, reported to exist on Gan and Mundú Islands, were explored by the writer in March, 1922.

7. *Faqír*:—"Poor"; used in the sense of "helpless", "commiserated", the Sultán standing to his "poor subjects" *in loco parentis*.

8. *Fate*:—Orders, grants, etc., under Sultáns' seals are styled *Fat* (pronounced *Fai*)-*koḷu* (royal suffix). *Fate*=Sinhalese *pata*. *Vidáḷu fate*=*vadāḷu panata* of Sinhalese *Sannas*.

9. *Fura Baṇḍára*:—The regular term in documents for the Máldivian Government. *Fura*: "Ancient" (Sip: *purána*), or "preeminent" (Sip: *para*). *Baṇḍára*: Used of the "Sultán" as well as the "Government" (Sip: *Baṇḍára*).

10 *Mundú* :—The fifth island with inhabitants on the Eastern reef of Haddummatí Atol, having Máibaidú, Huli-yandú, Dambidú, and Isdú in succession to north of it.

A dágaba mound (long ago exploited by the Muslim islanders to build their Mosque, and now in complete ruin), and other traces of Buddhist occupation were examined here on March 20th-21st, 1922. The mound (standing by itself on the right of houses) in Plate II A is the ruined dágaba.

11. *Furedda Ođi* :—Mádivian vessels are usually classed, as follows :— (i) *Furedda Ođi* (length 36 to 45 ft.); (ii) *Banđu Ođi* (22 to 32 ft.); (iii) *Daturu Ođi* (16 to 18 ft.); (iv) *Mas Ođi*; (v) *Mas Dóni* (both 14 to 20 ft.).

Formerly *Furedda Ođi-faharu* traded as far as Aden (West) and Achin (East). Nowadays No. (i) trade to Calcutta with coconuts; No. (ii) to Cochin and Colombo with dry fish (*M. kummala mas*; *Sip. umbala kađa*) chiefly; No. (iii) are used for coastwise trade within the Atols; (iv) and (v) are fishing boats.

See Plate II. B, for a *Daturu Ođi* entering Málé Harbour.

12. *Dabidú* (pronounced *Dambidú*) :—Immediately to south of Isdú, at N.E. end of the reef; and from early days one of the chief islands of the Atol. The present active old *Atoluveri* (Headman), Hájí 'Ali Fulu Koyá, resides here. This island is exceptional in possessing a *Furedda Ođi*.

13. *Ru(r) kađa magun* :—Will also bear the meaning " in the Coconut-cutting-Street ". There are said to be such " streets " for this purpose in some islands.

14. *Ko(r)dífaní koṛu* :—Archaic expression found in documents : the modern equivalent is *ko(r)dífatí*.

15. *A. H. 1297* = A. C. December 15th, 1879—December 4th, 1880.

### Translation

The Order vouchsafed by (His Highness) Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín Iskandar, a Kshatriya of pure race, Great Monarch of the World, to the person in charge of Revenue (Collection) at Haddummatí (Atol), and to all (Our) poor subjects.

(Our) servant Kuđa Futu of Mundú (island) is (hereby) authorised by the Mádivian Government to build a *Furedda Ođi*.



(You should, therefore,) have a shed put up, according to the usual practice at Daĩbidú (island); and, (further), have one hundred and fifty coconut trees cut down following the customary method.\*

(You must forthwith) get everything done† for the construction of this vessel in accordance with the usage observed throughout the‡ Atols for the building of such vessels.

(Granted, *Anno Hijrae*) 1297 year.

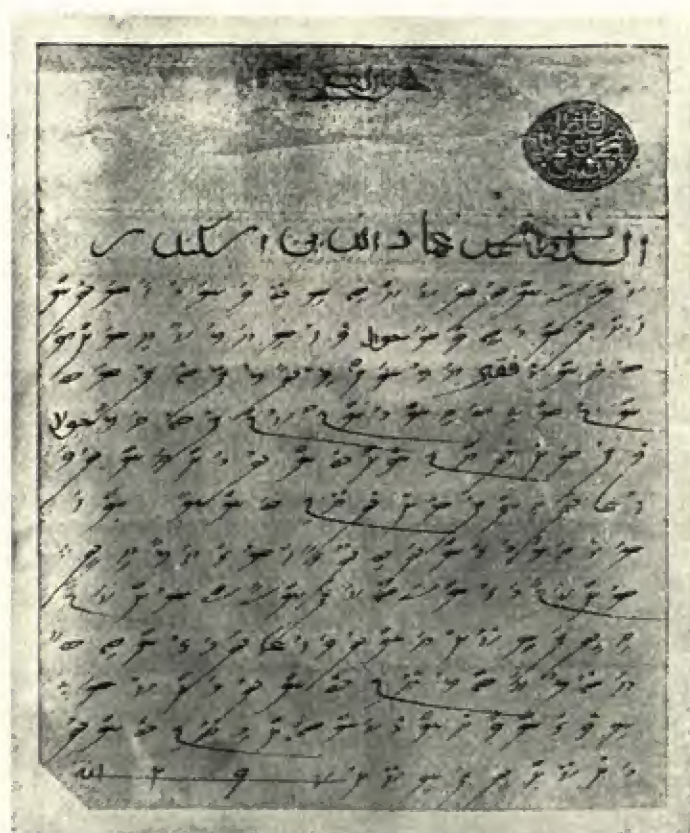
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\* Or "from the Coconut-cutting Street". At the present day probably but few islands could spare such a drain on their trees.

† Pois aquillo, que os Reis já tem mandado,

Não pode ser por outrem derogado (Camoens, viii, 82).

‡ Literally "your" (*tibá*).



MALDIVIAN GOVERNMENT PERMIT

A. H. 1297 (A. C. 1879-80).



PLATE II.

A.



HADDUMMATI ATOL: MUNDU ISLAND.

B.



MALDIVIAN DATURU ODI

## JOTTINGS FROM EUROPEAN MUSEUMS

"While the Sun and the Moon shall endure." That is a manner of expression natural to men of all races and climes, and words to that effect were frequently employed by Sinhalese kings to signify the perpetuity of a grant made by them. Moreover, in order to emphasize the same idea, it was usual to engrave figures of the Sun and Moon on the document itself, whether it was on stone or on metal. This practice was by no means peculiar to the Sinhalese; in the Assyrian Gallery at the Louvre there is a boundary pillar of King Melichikare, who reigned 1144-1130 B.C., of black marble, containing the same symbols placed in the same manner as on the familiar stone *Sannasa*. The Sun is shown as a circle, within which appear eight rays; the Moon is a crescent; and in addition there is also a star. In Sinhalese documents the figure of a dog or snake is sometimes shown, indicating the destiny in a future birth of whoever transgressed the grant; it is therefore interesting to see a scorpion added in another similar pillar of King Nazi Maraddach, 1350 B.C.

In ancient Sinhalese images the eyes were cut out of white crystal with a hollow in the under surface, in which was set the pupil, consisting of a disc of blue glass. The whole was fixed in a metal frame and thus attached to the statue, and an eye of the same shape as that used in Ceylon has been discovered at the palace of Sargon in Korsabad. It is made of ivory, and the pupil seems to be of black glass. The shape is quite different from that of the usual round eye of agate. At this palace there have also been found perforated discs of stone which recall the familiar clay discs obtained at various ancient centres in Ceylon, from Tissamaharama to Kantarodai.

The Sinhalese ivory comb, with its two rows of teeth, and panel of pierced ornament in the centre, is well known. The Paris Museums show that the Assyrians were familiar with such combs in ivory and horn, the usual design on the panel being the figure of



a lion. Similar ivory combs were used in Germany in the XI., and in Italy in the XIV. centuries. So far I have discovered only one specimen of Sinhalese art at these Museums; this consists of a Mohottala's dagger and *stylus* in a silver-mounted case, which is at the Musée Des Invalides, and is wrongly labelled as from Java. There are some modern paintings of Buddhist priests at the Musée Guimet.

Ribeiro praises the skill of the Sinhalese in carving crystal Madonnas and *Bambinos*, but no specimen of these is known to me in Ceylon. There is, however, at the Wallace Collection in London, a small Good Shepherd in crystal, richly mounted with rubies and sapphires. This is described on the label as having been made in India for the Portuguese, and might very well have come from Ceylon.

P. E. P.

### CONAR AND ALAGAKKONARA

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his Rejoinder to the Paper of Mudaliyar Simon de Silva on the Kit-Siri-Mevan Inscription (Ceylon Antiquary, II., pp. 184, 185) writes:—

"As for that 'bogey,' the identification of Alagakkónára with Ibn Batúta's '*Conar*,' no one should know better than the Mudaliyár (for the footnotes refuting the statement belong to Appendices to two of his own Papers in the *Journal C.A.S.*)\* that it has been already twice 'laid.' It is now resuscitated for a third—and may we hope—last time. '*Conar*' (Arabic, *kunwár*, 'prince') was not a Minister, but the 'Sultan' (or King) himself."

I should not venture to resuscitate this "bogey" for the fourth time were it not apparent that the identification of "Conar" with *kunwár*, "prince," cannot have been made by Yule after verification of the word in Ibn Batutah's Arabic text.

\* Journal, Vol. XXIII., No. 65 (1910-12), p. 350 n, p. 441 n.

The Arabic script, as is well known, does not normally insert vowels, and only differentiates certain letters by dots; foreign names in consequence are liable to much distortion at the hands of copyists. Ibn Batutah, therefore, made it his practice to indicate the vocalisation of such names, and there can be no doubt as to his pronunciation.

In the present case the Arabic text may be translated: "and he (the Sultan) is known as álif lám káf nún álif rá—káf with damma, and nún with fatab."

I have represented the actual name by the names of the letters composing it. Ibn Batutah clearly regarded the álif-lám as the definite article "al," and pronounced the remainder as "Kunár" or "Konár." In the face of the name as spelt and vocalised the reading "Kunwár" is absolutely impossible; it is moreover a non-Arabic word.

The presence of the definite article before a foreign name seems superfluous, and there can be little doubt but that "Alkonár" was the name of the Sultan, who was raised to the throne by a revolution, and is meant for "Alagakkónára" or Alahakkónára." Mr. Bell's original identification in Sessional Paper XIX. of 1892, p. 92, therefore, holds good. The French editors are to blame in giving no indication of the presence of the article in their translation.

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## SPECIAL LIBRARY FUND

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An appeal which was made recently for funds for putting the Society's library into a satisfactory condition has resulted in a sum of Rs. 815 being collected. A list of the subscribers is given below. Further funds are required for this purpose and subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, at the Colombo Museum.

### LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE LIBRARY FUND

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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
CEYLON BRANCH  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
1923.

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VOLUME XXIX.  
No. 76.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

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PAPERS:

TANTRIMALAI.

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS ON RIDIVIHARA.

THE CAPTIVITY OF MAJOR DAVIE

NOTES ON THE FORTS OF THE JAFFNA ISLANDS.

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

THE KAHÁPANA OF THE VINAYA PÁRÁJIKÁ PÁLI.

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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries  
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,  
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and  
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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COLOMBO:

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1924.



ROYAL

CEYLON BRANCH

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(1871)

REPORT

ON THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

IN THE YEAR 1871

AND OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE SOCIETY

IN THE YEAR 1871

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OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

AND

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# JOURNAL

## OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

## CEYLON BRANCH.



### GENERAL MEETING.

*University College, Colombo, January 17, 1923.*

#### Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka.  
 Revd. R. Dhiralankara Thero.  
 Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.  
 Revd. P. Lucien Jansz.  
 Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.  
 „ A. P. A. Jayawardana.  
 „ Sam J. C. Kadirgamar.  
 „ L. M. Maartensz.  
 Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.  
 Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. A. R. B. Perera.  
 Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.  
 Mr. G. L. Rupesingha.  
 „ R. Sagarajasingham.  
 Prof. C. Suntharalingam, B.A.  
 Mudaliyar Walter Samarasingha.  
 Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha.  
 „ C. F. Winzer.  
 „ Alex. Wickramasingha.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.  
 Visitors: 17 gentlemen and 6 ladies.

#### Business:

1. Dr. (Miss) Stella Kramrisch delivered a lecture illustrated by lantern slides, entitled "The Significance of Indian Art."

2. Votes of thanks to the lecturer proposed by Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam and to the Chair proposed by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam were carried with acclamation.



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February 26, 1923.*

## Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. Letters of regret at being unable to attend from Dr. P. E. Pieris, Dr. W. A. de Silva and Mr. F. Lewis were read.

2. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 17th October, 1922, were read and confirmed.

3. The following having been duly proposed and seconded, were elected members of the Society:—

(a) Alexander Bartholomews Madanayaka.

(b) Joseph Light, C.C.S.

(c) J. R. Bhatt, B.Sc.

(d) Catheravelupillai Suppramaniam.

(e) Isaac Martin Tisera Sri Kularatna Basnayaka.

4. The Report of the Sub-committee consisting of Messrs. F. Lewis and L. J. B. Turner on the three notes by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi was considered and it was decided that these papers should be accepted for publication in the *Journal*.

5. The Council recorded with regret the deaths of the Ven'ble Sri Nanissara, Prof. Rhys Davids and Mr. F. D. Jayasinha, late clerk and Librarian of the Society, and decided that letters should be addressed to the relatives or friends of these late members, expressing the sympathy of the society with them in their bereavement.

6. A paper on "King Ganatissa" by Mr. John M. Senave-ratna was tabled and it was decided to refer the matter to Dr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. A. M. Hocart, for their opinion.

7. The question of the purchase of a copy of the centenary volume 1923 of the Parent Society was considered and it was decided that a copy be ordered.

8. It was resolved that a special appeal for funds for the purchase of new books for the library should be made and the Hony. Treasurer undertook to make the appeal.

9. A list of members whose subscription was seriously in arrears was tabled for action under rule 33 and the Secretary was authorized to proceed accordingly, if it was not found possible to collect the arrears.

10. A letter from Mr. L. J. B. Turner asking for permission to publish his paper on the Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon was read.

The Council consented provided Mr. Turner agreed to make due acknowledgment to the Society when his paper was published.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February 26, 1923.*

*Present :*

The Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, O.M.G., Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President,

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.

Hon. Sir J. T. Broom, Kt.

Miss Norah C. Carter.

Mr. P. M. A. Corea.

Ven. F. H. de Winton.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ A. P. A. Jayawardana.

„ Sam J. C. Kadirgamar.

„ Robert Marrs, M.A.

Mr. D. Nusseruwanjee.

„ R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.

Prof. S. A. Pakeman.

Mudaliyar J. P. Obeyesekera.

The Hon. Sir P. Ramanathan.

Dr. R. L. Spittel.

Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha.

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,

C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary.

Visitors : 6 gentlemen and 5 ladies.

*Business :*

1. Minutes of the General Meetings held on the 17th October, 1922, and on the 17th January, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.

3. Mr. A. M. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner, read a paper illustrated by lantern slides on "Tantrimalai."



## TANTRIMALAI

BY

MR. A. M. HOCART,

*Archæological Commissioner.*

Tantrimalai, as you know, is a rocky wilderness about nine miles south-west of Cettikulam station on the Manaar line. It is an undertaking to get there, but the trouble is not to be regretted, and I am grateful to Mr. John Still whose paper published in your Journal of 1910 induced me to go there, and proved a valuable guide to the place and its history. If I disagree with some of his conclusions, it is because his study shed the light which enabled me to see. Like so many other places, Tantrimalai may have been a sacred place before Buddhism; but that is mere conjecture and likely to remain so as most of the monuments are based directly on the rock so that there is no hope of finding lower levels than we can at present see. Where there was a possibility of finding a lower level, Mr. Still looked for it in the large cave which he calls Upāsika Naga's cave. He there found some quartz fragments and I cannot do better than quote his account of them: "They are not in any sense implements, but they may have been waste chips thrown away while implements are being made. For they are quite foreign to their surroundings, such as could hardly have come to be where they were by accident. The floor of the cave in monastic times was rudely paved with uncut pieces of flat stone and some ten inches of earth intervened between this and the bed rock floor. It was on the rock floor that these chips were found." The cave therefore appears to have been occupied before Buddhism, but by whom it is

impossible at present to say. Buddhist occupation is first vouched for by inscriptions of about the 1st century B.C. I will not dwell on these inscriptions as they have nothing to tell us beyond their approximate age. Mr. Still seems to assign to the same period the small rude stone platforms that occur here and there on the rock. He may be right, but he may be wrong; for there is a gap of many centuries, possibly nine, between the inscription and the monument we shall deal with next and these rude stone platforms therefore have a vast range of time at their disposal. These platforms were made by spreading earth on the rock inside a square of rude stones and paving it with rude stones. There is not a perfect one left: the rain has washed away the earth and disturbed the stones; shooting parties have used them to build themselves little bastions commanding the waterholes. But we gain some idea of their dimensions: 18 ft.  $\times$  17 ft. is the largest mentioned by Mr. Still. As there is no brick about we must suppose the walls were of mud or wood. There is one on the East side of the hill which particularly interests me because the platform is enclosed by a double row of rude stones leaving a space of about 2 ft. between it and the platform; only two sides are left, but you can take it that it once ran all round. Presumably, this stone enclosure is the base of a mud wall, and is the equivalent of those double rows of stones which in Anuradhapura almost invariably constitute the foundations of brick walls. They are however also found, as on the Outer Circular Road, without any trace of brick whatever, and we must therefore suppose that a mud wall stood upon them. The hermit's cell was therefore surrounded by a wall, presumably a low one, or, it may be, by a railing. It is interesting to get back to the early types of hermits' cells and compare them with representations on monuments. I have not been able to find any evidence that these rude stone platforms were ever double. They seem to indicate that Ceylon, in the country at least, was very much behind India in its



monasteries: they appear to have gone on building hermits' cells after India had adopted the cloister. It is possible however that Tantrimalai was the resort of solitary monks. More information is required about these rude platforms, because as I said perfect specimens are hard to find; if indeed they exist at all, they must be so rare that for one man to seek alone is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Unfortunately, so far it has been a one man job; the reason is that it has been too much the habit in Ceylon of valuing monuments according to their size or artistic merit, and these rude platforms possessing neither have remained unnoticed, as far as I can see, except by Mr. Still. Now the artistic point of view is a very important one. We like to find beautiful things and we ought to like them; a people that does not appreciate beautiful things is dead; but besides wanting beauty we also want information and the two do not always go together. The Taj is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world and it has done good to thousands to see it; but its value to the historian bears no relation to its artistic value; if it were destroyed the artist in us would have to mourn the loss of one of the world's masterpieces, but the historian would lose little as there are plenty of perfect specimens of Saracenic architecture in India. Even so from a merely historical point of view we could easily give away a dozen of those finished platforms of Anuradhapura in exchange for one complete set of these rude stones rudely set together into a rude square that give no pleasure to the eye. Those who wander about the jungle for pleasure or on duty should not therefore imagine that because these structures are so insignificant, they are not worth reporting. They are very much worth reporting, and there must be plenty about especially, I should think, in the region of Tantrimalai and East of Anuradhapura.

Mr Still and Mr. Parker differ as to the date of the stupa on the top of the main hill, which I will call Stupa

Hill. Mr. Parker says it is the first century B.C.; Mr. Still ascribes it to the 12th century A.D., a difference of 13 centuries. Obviously, there must be something fundamentally wrong with the chronolgy of Ceylon antiquities if such enormous differences of opinion are possible, and it is worth while to pause therefore in order to see if we cannot improve upon this state of affairs. First of all, let us have clear ideas; that is the foundation of everything, clear ideas. What do we mean when we say the stupa belongs to this or that century? Do we mean it was founded then? or do we mean that what we see belongs to that time? This seems a most important and obvious distinction, yet it is often left unmade. The Mahavansa says such and such a building was erected in the 1st century B.C., and there is an end of it; the expert who repeats this statement may be well aware that this is merely the date of the foundation, but he does not make this clear to others and thus confuses the general public, and that is how in the Colombo Museum we come to have specimens of the 13th century ascribed to the 1st, or *vice versa*. This vagueness is disastrous to the history of Ceylon art. Suppose that some one read in an old chronicle that St. Paul's was built in 1,000 A.D. (I do not know the true date, but we will say 1,000 for the sake of argument); suppose he concluded that St. Paul's as we see it is a specimen of the Norman style of architecture, then he would go completely astray and his chances of ever grasping the development of English architecture would be nil. But we have not only to distinguish between the original building and the one at present standing, we have to distinguish between various parts of the same building. Take Gloucester Cathedral: the skeleton is Norman, yet he who would take every detail as Norman would soon be as hopelessly at sea as the one who should set up St. Paul's as an example of Norman, for not only have



perpendicular annexes been added, but, the Norman work itself was cased in perpendicular so that in the choir we must distinguish between the inside and the outside of the walls. In Ceylon we have to go even further than that and distinguish between the material and the form: for it was the common practice to rebuild out of old materials, a practice which is continued to the present day by the Archaeological Department. Go to Polonnaruwa and there you will find 1922 work made with bricks that may belong to any century from the XIIIth up.

Having tidied up our minds we can proceed to weigh the evidence concerning our stupa. The date of its foundation, we may be sure, must be remote, for the stupa being in those days the central point of Buddhist worship, it is hard to conceive of a monastic settlement without a Stupa. Further the Buddhist in Ceylon always turns to a hill to set up his shrines, if there is one at hand, and our stupa is on the highest hill; the rude stone platforms are round the base, evidently appendages to whatever was on the top. Is there anything of this ancient stupa remaining? Mr. Parker assigned the bricks to the 1st century B.C., basing himself on their size. Now I do not agree with Mr. Still that this is a bad way of dating monuments: it works in India, Babylonia and elsewhere, and it should work in Ceylon. Mr Still does not believe that bricks were standardized in those early days; why not? They were standardized in India in the Maurya period. Besides our whole experience is against the view that people are haphazard in the sizes and styles of their materials; each age has got its preference for certain proportions and it does not vary them much for the excellent reason that it is much easier to stick to one size than to chop and change, easier for the brick-maker who can thus work automatically, and for the brick-layer who can lay his courses automatically without having to hunt round for the particular size that fits a particular gap. Besides, we



have fairly good evidence that bricks were standardized in the 1st century B.C.: if you will go up Ruvanvāli Sāya before it is completely covered over by the new brickwork you will find on one side a kind of brick rubble typical of the Polonnaruva period; on the other whole bricks regularly layed and exceedingly constant in size  $15'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . I think it is a legitimate inference that we have here the original brickwork of the early 1st Century B.C. Mr. Parker's method is therefore unimpeachable in theory; but when it comes to practice a critical spirit is essential; but Mr. Parker was not critical; he did not first make sure of the date of the particular part of the monument from which he took his bricks; that may explain why his data for Ruvanvāli Sāya differ from mine. As regards our stupa I am at a loss to understand how he got at his size seeing that, at the present day at least, nothing but broken bricks appear, and Mr. Still's inferred measurements give all different sizes. You may say this supports Mr. Still's view that bricks were not standardized. Not a bit. It merely shows that the stupa was rebuilt at some time with the ruins of previous structures, as, I repeat, was commonly done in Ceylon, and almost invariably done in the Polonnaruva period, and in the 20th Century. We may infer from this that the dome of the stupa was rebuilt in the Polonnaruva period, since we shall find later on definite evidence of a revival of Tantrimalai in those days. As far as that dome goes therefore, we can agree with Mr. Still. But the dome is built upon a square stone platform which is almost certainly earlier than the twelfth century. Stupas on square stone platforms do not appear to have been built in the XIIth century; I may be wrong, but that is as far as my present information goes. The mouldings too point to an earlier period. It is indeed possible that the retaining wall of the platform and the pavement on the top of it are not on the same date, for the coping stones are smooth, whereas the pavement

slabs show parallel chisel marks. I am as yet however too vague about these chisel marks to press the point. Round the platform runs a square line of rude stone which I take to be earlier still, possibly at the same date as the rude stone platform already described. Indeed it is difficult to see the point of this square once the stone platform had been built; and it is best explained as an original pavement. Thus when we get down to the foundations we also get down to a period which comes very near to that suggested by Mr. Parker; only he got there by quite wrong inferences, of which the worst will come later on. Next to these rude stone platforms I would place the double platform that stands opposite the artificial cave and to the so-called Potgula. The reason is that it is obviously less developed than the double platforms excavated by Mr. Ayrton on the outer circular road; on the other hand they represent a very great advance on the rude stone platforms, the stone being cut in large slabs. Since Mr. Ayrton's excavations this double platform type has gained considerably in interest, partly because they constitute a problem which former investigators scarcely realized to be a problem, and partly because the thoroughness of his work enables us to draw conclusions. I will therefore briefly sum up the characteristics of this type: the building consists of two square or slightly oblong platforms; if they are oblong, the long sides form the back and front. The building faces east, and the eastern platform is evidently a *mandapa* or entrance hall; whether it was roofed or not is uncertain; Mr. Ayrton thinks it was not; I think it was; and naturally I think I am right; anyhow we both agree there were no walls, or at least no full walls. The west platform is the shrine, and is invariably built on the solid rock; it was roofed and walled. The two platforms are connected by a bridge which may assume very big dimensions if the conformation of the rock on which the western platform is built leaves a deep hollow between



the two platforms. This double platform in the later examples is surrounded by a square wall and verandah. These double platforms occur also at Mihintale, Ritigala, Mānākanda, Arankāle and Veherabāndigala. The Anuradhapura examples were assigned by Mr. Ayrton to a period covering the VIIIth to Xth centuries. I think his dating can be taken as correct for the finished examples, but I think he has ignored the fact that these have been built on earlier structures of the same type. The platforms he had in view are remarkably uniform in moulding. The earlier ones have no mouldings at all, but consist merely of a retaining wall set direct on the rock, sometimes without a plinth, and plain slabs as coping stones. It is to this type that the Tantrimalai example belongs. Only the upright stones are only roughly dressed not beautifully smoothed as at Arankāle and Mānākanda; nor is there any plinth. This may be due to the fact that it was a cheap building, but it may be also due to an earlier date, and the Anuradhapura evidence rather favours this latter hypothesis. It is typical inasmuch as the West platform is built on the higher part of the rock and directly upon it. The Eastern platform is not so distinctly a platform but rather an earth terrace contained by stones: it is very much larger, though the exact outlines cannot be followed exactly without excavation. Like other earlier examples it is not enclosed by a wall and a verandah: in its cramped position it could scarcely be. If I am right in putting it down as an early example this would take us back beyond the VIIIth. century, how far I would not like to say, but I think we should be safe in saying VIth. or earlier. Anyhow it is certainly older than the cave opposite and the Potgula which is of the same age as the cave. Here we are on firmer ground for the style of both is unmistakable, it is what I shall call the rectilinear style which is characteristic of so much of the Anuradhapura work. It holds exclusive sway along the Western limb of the outer circular road in Anuradhapura.



These monasteries have been assigned, as I said, by Mr. Ayrton to the IXth. century approximately. Now the Potgula and the cave have their nearest of kin in the cave at Arankāle. This cave I believe to be a little earlier than the monasteries on the outer circular road, partly because of an impression which I cannot as yet justify, and partly because all the other work at Arankāle is certainly earlier. I will ask you to compare the Polonnaruwa style with Potgula. First I will show you that Potgula on a large scale. You will note that all the stones are cut with perfect regularity, you will observe their careful bonding, varied yet without violent irregularities. It is this neatness in the fitting of the stones which gives this building and the cave temple at Arankāle such a pleasing appearance, for ornament there is practically none: just the plainest of pilasters at each corner. Turn on the other hand to the Hindu temples: the stones are irregularly cut; the faces of the stones are often so irregular that small pieces have to be let in to fill the gaps; the bonding is most haphazard, and has reference neither to strength nor to the mouldings. At Tantrimalai the bonding forms part of the design; at Siva Dēvāle No. 2 it works against it. Take the ornamentation: it is as elaborated as at Tantrimalai it is simple: the pilasters bear capital placed on capital without any constructive reason but just in order to impress the onlooker by mere elaboration. I am afraid the two buildings have nothing in common beyond the fact that they are both built of stone and are square. Mr. Still supports his contention with inscriptions. He found characters of the late XIth. or of the XIIth. century on some of the stones. I am not at all so certain that they are not of the Xth.; however let us assume that they are of the XIIth.; inscriptions, we know, may be engraved on a monument ages after the building of the monument. Mr. Still is aware of this but he contends that as there never is more than one letter on one stone, they must have been carved by the

masons to guide them in placing the stones. I would add that, as far as I could trace them, they are only found on corner stones. Mr. Still's case is thus a very strong one. Yet even so I pin my faith on style, and refuse to be led astray by any number of inscriptions. And if we look round we shall soon find something to justify our faith. The top of the rock has been partly levelled; a square has been smoothed out to fit the building exactly; but we find this square intersected by another which has exactly the same dimensions but the orientation of which is  $29^{\circ}$  different from that of the first. What is the inference? That the building originally stood on this square; that it fell into ruins during the chaos which preceded the advent of Parakrama Bahu the Great, and was set up with a slightly different orientation either to fit it more closely to the rock or to make it face the same way as the cave below. It may well be that XIIIth. century masons marked the corner stones to serve them as a guide in rebuilding, supposing the characters are of the XIIth. century. The evidence of rebuilding puts it out of the question that the building was built in the XIIth. century, since the rebuilding can scarcely be later than the XIIIth when the tide began to ebb once more and *recede* from the North. The original building then must have been a few centuries earlier. We have here then but one of those cases that confront us at every turn in Anuradhapura: buildings of the VIIIth. to IXth. centuries restored in the XIIth. when, for a brief period, the old fire flamed up again and shed a passing glory on Lanka. We have definite evidence that its radiance fell upon Tantrimalai. For we have two works there which are unmistakably of the Polonnaruwa period, namely the sitting and the recumbent Buddhas. Mr. Parker assigns them to the 1st century B.C. but there is not a shadow of doubt that Mr. Still is right in ascribing them to the XIIth A.D. or thereabouts. First of all we now know that the type



of the Buddha was not created till the 1st century A.D., so that Mr. Parker's date is an anachronism. Secondly we know that no such Buddhas as the Tantrimalai examples were ever produced even in the early centuries A.D. Of the early style we have examples in this Museum; there are two fragments from Amaravati of the 2nd century A.D.; compare them with our Tantrimalai Buddhas and tell me if you can see the slightest resemblance. The scenes from Amaravati still belong to an early stage, though not the earliest, they are full of life, and the artist evidently rejoices in his newly acquired skill; the Buddhas of Tantrimalai are obviously of a decadent period; they are stiff and conventionalized, the artist knows all the tricks of the trade, and he is so familiar with them that he ceases to rejoice in them, but uses them in a mechanical way. The work at Issurumuniya in Anuradhapura is later than the Amaravati slabs, but it is still earlier than the statues at Tantrimalai; it is less naive than the art of Amaravati, but it is still warm with life. Even the Buddha near Burrough's stone pavilion, similar as it is in style to Tantrimalai Buddhas, is assigned to an earlier period by its soft expression of its kindly face. We do however possess examples of the XIIth, and XIIIth. centuries to compare with Tantrimalai, in particular the Buddhas of the Galvihara at Polonnaruwa. A general resemblance is unmistakable, yet there are differences of technique and style which should not be overlooked. There are indeed slight differences among the four Buddhas of Galvihara, differences due to different hands, but the general method is what may be described as the double groove method, that is each fold is indicated by two parallel grooves between them, one shallower than the other with a narrow ridge between them, the surface between these double grooves is convex or forms a cyma curve. In the standing Buddha the grooves are almost of the same depth; in the colossal sitting Buddha the groove nearest the hem is shallower; in the recumbent



Buddha each fold is marked by three grooves. These are all variations, which may be individual merely or due to a small lapse of time. At Tantrimalai the folds of the drapery are formed by ridges dividing flat or concave surfaces like the Buddhas at Kalāvāva. Is this earlier or later? The flame on the Tantrimalai sitting Buddha's head suggests later. The first appearance of this flame has not, to my knowledge, been determined, but the sculptures so far known to me incline one to the opinion that this type was unknown to the XIIth. century. The probability then is that the sitting Buddha of Tantrimalai at least is later than the XIIth. This agrees with the unfinished state of the whole work: either funds failed or the monastery was broken up by war; either cause points to the end of the Polonnaruva period, to the beginning of the debacle. The evidence of the pedestal also points to the XIIIth rather than the XIIth, for it closely resembles the square platform or *mandapa* that faces the Lankatilaka at Polonnaruva. This platform cannot be earlier than the Lankatilaka of which it is an adjunct; it may be contemporaneous or later; the style of the pillars distinctly suggests a later date; in shape and ornament they resemble the pillars that stand on the porch of the Vāṭa-dā-ge added by Nissanka Malla; in fact this style of pillars with square base and top and octagonal shaft seems to have come into vogue about the time of Nissanka Malla. The two Buddhas close the history of Tantrimalai. That history, first written by Mr. Still, is a compendium of the chief styles in Sinhalese art. If we could date definitely everything that we have passed in review there would be few problems for the historian of Buddhist architecture in Ceylon. We are far from having dated them definitely. I am afraid there has been far too many probably's and apparently's; but I think this review will have helped us to take stock of our knowledge, sort it out, and range it on the shelves of our

memories so that we can more easily refer to it in the future.

A discussion followed in which Drs. Hewawitarne and Spittel and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan took part.

4. Votes of thanks to the lecturer proposed by Dr. Pearson and seconded by Prof. Pakeman and the Chair proposed by Sir P. Arunachalam, were carried with acclamation.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, April 25, 1923.**Present:*

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáhalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Dr. W. A. de Silva

Mr. A. M. Hocart

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

*Business:*

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 26th February, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Arulappa Bastianpillai Rajendra having been duly proposed and seconded, was elected a member of the Society.

3. It was decided to recommend that the following be the office-bearers for 1923-24:—

*President:*

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáhalam.

*Vice-Presidents:*

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.

*Council Members:*

Hon. Mr. D. W. Perera

Dr. W. A. de Silva

Dr. A. Nell

Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam

Prof. Robert Marrs

Mr. L. J. B. Turner

,, A. M. Hocart

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne

Dr. S. C. Paul

Gate Mudaliyar W. F.

Gunawardhana

Rev. Father S. G. Perera.

*Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers:*

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Lionel de Fonseka.

4. The Annual Report for 1922 was passed.

5. The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider Mr. John M. Senaveratna's paper on "King Ganatissa" was tabled and it was decided that the paper should be accepted for publication in the Journal in the form of two notes.

6. It was decided that the Librarian should be instructed not to lend books or to issue publications to members whose subscription for the current year had not been paid.

7. A letter from Mr. Tissavarasingha to Dr. Nell on the subject of Archaeological finds near Jaffna and in the Island of Delft was read, and it was decided to ask Mr. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner, to arrange to visit the site if possible during the year.

8. It was decided that the Annual General Meeting should be held if possible during the first week of June, when Dr. W. A. de Silva would read a paper entitled "Old Manuscripts on the Ridi Vihara."



## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, June 27, 1923.*

## Present:

His Excellency Sir Wm. H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.,  
Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.

Miss N. C. Carter

Mr. V. E. Charavanamuttu

" Lionel de Fonseka

" W. A. de Silva

" Gabriel Gunawardhana

" J. J. Gunawardene

" G. E. Harding

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna

Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana

" N. H. Jinadasa

" Robert Marrs

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. S. A. Pakeman

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera

Mr. E. Reimers

" W. Sathasivam

" C. Suppramaniam

" F. A. Tissavarasingha

" D. D. Weerasingha,

Mudaliyar

" E. B. Wickramanayaka.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Visitors: 2 ladies and 7 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th February, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following report of the Council for 1922, which was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. G. E. Harding and seconded by Dr. W. A. de Silva.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1922.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1922.

## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. In January a General Meeting was held when a lecture on "the Aims of Archaeology in Ceylon" by Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., was delivered and a "Note on an Ivory Panel in the Colombo Museum" by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., was read. The Annual General Meeting was held in July when His Excellency Sir William H. Manning, G.C.M.G., Patron, presided. The Annual Report was read and a lecture was delivered by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., on "the Daily Routine of Parakkrama Bahu II." In October, a General Meeting was held with the Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.M.G., V.D., in the Chair and a paper was read on "the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal, Vol. XXVIII., No. 73, 1920, was issued during the year, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

- (a) Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese Guardian Spirits (Deva), by Dr. W. A. de Silva.
- (b) Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Lueh, by Dr. Lionel Giles, Litt. D.
- (c) Prince Taniyavalla Bahu of Madampe, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., retired.

Journal, Vol. XXVIII, No. 74, 1921, which was in the press at the end of the year and was issued early in 1923, contained in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries the following papers:—

- (a) Aryan Question in Relation to India, by Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.
- (b) Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing, by Dr. W. A. de Silva.
- (c) The Overlordship of Ceylon in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, by Dr. S. C. Paul.

## CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

The thanks of the Society are due to Government for a further grant to the Society of Rs. 1,000 for this year. The references to Ceylon contained in Tao I Chih Lueh appeared in the Journal No. 73, and the Secretary is in communication with Prof. Giles regarding further extracts from Chinese writers.

## MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 352 members of whom 42 are Life members and 9 Honorary members.

During the year 32 new members were elected and the following were struck off for non-payment of arrears, viz.:—

- J. N. C. Tiruchelvam
- M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar
- B. James Pieris
- O. M. Obeyesekera
- D. D. S. Mutucumarana
- C. L. M. Muheeth
- R. de Vaas Gunawardhana
- F. J. Lucas Fernando, (jr.)
- Dr. W. A. Fernando
- Geo. E. de Livera
- C. M. M. Abdul Cader
- B. S. Cooray
- M. T. de S. Amarasekara
- D. S. Wijayasinha
- K. Sirinivasa Bhikku
- M. K. Dharmasiri Thero
- W. Sri Deepankara Thero
- M. K. Dhammaloka Thero.

Willegoda Dhammananda Thero became a Life Member.

## DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph. D., Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., the Ven'ble Mahagoda Sri Nanissara Maha Nayaka Thero, Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, J.P. and Mr. F. D. Jayasinha.



Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph. D., Barrister-at-law, one of the oldest members of the Society, died during the latter part of the year. He joined the Society in 1867 and became a Life Member in 1868. Prof. Rhys Davids was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service from which he retired in 1873.

His contributions to the Journal of the Society include:—

- (a) On Methods of taking impressions of inscriptions.
- (b) Inscription at Weligama Vihara.
- (c) Dondra Inscription and many other articles appeared in the Journals of the Parent Branch, Bengal Branch and in the Indian Antiquary.

His literary works include:—

- (a) Buddhist India
- (b) Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon
- (c) Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales, 1880
- (d) Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, 1881
- (e) Pali Dictionary, now in course of publication.

He was the founder of the Pali Text Society.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph of the Ceylon Civil Service, died in his 52nd year, on the 14th March, 1923. For more than 29 years from 1893 to the time of his death, he held the post of Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum. He also held the Society's Librarianship for two years, 1891 and 1892. He joined the Society in 1893 and in the same year he was elected joint Secretary. In 1907 he became in addition Treasurer of the Society. He contributed the following to the Society's Journal:—

- (a) Antiquarian Discovery relating to the Portuguese in Ceylon.
- (b) The Gal-vihara and Demala Maha Saya Paintings.
- (c) Ancient Door-ways and Pillars.

The Ven'ble M. Sri Nanissara Maha Nayaka Thero, who died in November, joined the Society in 1910 and became a Life Member in 1916. He took a keen interest in the Society's work, particularly in connection with the Alu-vihara Edition of the Buddhist Classics, inaugurated by Lord Chalmers. He was the Principal of Vidyodaya College and was an erudite and able oriental scholar. His literary works include:—

- (a) Nitisataka Vyākhyā.
- (b) Bhaṭṭi Kavya.
- (c) Samantakūṭa Vannanā.
- (d) Dhammapadāṭṭha Katha.
- (e) Kankhāvitaraṇi, and
- (f) Vṛttaratnākara Sanné. The first two works exist in manuscript only. The latter four have been printed.

In Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, J.P., the Society has lost a most valuable member. He joined the Society in 1904 and took a great interest in the work. He contributed the following to the Society's Journal:—

- (a) Vijaya Bahu VI.
- (b) Inscription at Keragala.

He was the author of a Sinhalese Grammar called Sabdanu-sasanaya and prepared a set of readers still in use for the use of Government Sinhalese Schools, and also edited Nikaya Sangrahawa, an account of Buddhism (the Buddhist Church) for the Government.

Mr. F. D. Jayasinha joined the Society in 1915. He was the Clerk and Librarian for nearly 17 years from 1898 to 1914, and did useful work for the Society as Librarian and also after retirement from that post.



## COUNCIL.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was re-elected President and Dr. P. E. Pieris was elected a Vice-President. Under Rule 20, Gate Mudaliyars Simon de Silva and W. F. Gunawardhana retired by seniority and Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and W. A. de Silva were re-elected. Prof. R. Marrs was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. C. W. Horsfall. Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary of the Society, was elected in addition Honorary Treasurer in place of the late Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 213. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges:

The Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; The Smithsonian Institute; The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; Asiatic Society, Bengal; The Musée Guimet, Paris; The Royal Colonial Institute; l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi; Director, Colombo Museum, The Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Colombo.

For donations to the following:—The University of Calcutta; Archaeological Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of Burma, The Director, Public Works Department, Ceylon.

## ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Archaeological Department of Government has been under the charge of Mr. A. M. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner, during the year. A considerable amount of useful work was done, including the conservation of the Dhatu Mandiraya, at the Sela Caitiya; all the stones forming the retaining wall of the platform were replaced in position with a backing of cement concrete and most of the dome was pointed. Pointing was also carried out on the brick work of the "Elephant Stables." Work was also done on the Kiri Vehara, the Demala Maha Sāya and the Lankatilaka at Polonnaruwa.

Arrangements are being made to reserve Arankāle, in the Kurunāgala District, in many respects one of the most interesting remains in the Island.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the late Archaeological Commissioner, spent several months in the early part of the year in the Maldiva Islands, in connection with history and archaeology of the Islands. He is preparing a monograph for Government for publication and it is hoped that he will contribute to the Society some interesting papers and notes on subjects connected with the Islands.

## FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 965.49 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,127.25 and the expenditure was Rs. 3,218.56. The Society commenced the year in debt, and its finances had been for a number of years at a very low ebb. During the year under review all arrears were paid off, and at the end of the year the Society had no outstanding liabilities to face. Many members however remain in arrears with their subscription. A determined effort was made to recover as much as possible, with certain amount of success, but a great deal of the outstandings appear

to be irrecoverable and steps have been taken to delete the names of chronic defaulters from the list of members under rule 33.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 1,009.50 and Rs. 1,923.77 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for auditing the Society's accounts.

#### GENERAL.

The Society is able to report a somewhat more satisfactory state of affairs this year than has been the case for many years. The Journals for 1920 and 1921 have been issued and that for 1922 is in the press and will be issued shortly. This means that the journal is at last up to date and it is hoped that it will be possible to publish it in regular quarterly parts in future. The financial position has also improved, as the Society was out of debt at the end of the year. Much however remains to be done. The Society's Library is in a very neglected state. The library is a very valuable one but it is impossible to purchase new books for some years now and the many publications which have been received are mostly unbound and not in a fit state to be placed on the shelves. A special appeal for funds for the library has just been issued and it is hoped that members will support the Council in its endeavours to put the library into a proper condition. The Society would be very glad to receive from members further Notes and papers on the subjects with which it deals. In conclusion the Council would most earnestly appeal to all members to pay their subscription with arrears as early in the year as possible, as the work of a Society such as this, which issues a journal and provides a valuable library for the use of its members, cannot be done satisfactorily unless members fulfil the obligation which is upon them of paying their subscription when due.

3. On a motion proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by Prof. R. Maris the following office-bears for 1923-24 were elected:

#### *Members of Council.*

NEW MEMBERS.  
Gate Mudaliyar W. F.

Gunawardhana.

Revd. Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

#### RE-ELECTED.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

„ S. C. Paul, M.D.

Co-Honorary Secretary and Co-Honorary Treasurer: L. de Fonseka.

4. Dr. W. A. de Silva read the following paper on "Old Manuscripts on the Ridi Vihāra."



Balance Sheet of the  
**CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**  
 For the Year, 1922.

RECEIPTS	Amount		EXPENDITURE	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from the year 1921—					
Entrance Fee ..	1,056	80	Charges ..	2,030	42
Govt. Grant ..	105	00	Salaries ..	976	98
Life Membership Commutations ..	500	00	Sundries ..	211	16
Sundries ..	84	00	Balance-cash in hand ..		
Annual Subscription for ..	15	75	Cheques not paid ..		
1924 Rs. 10-50			into the Bank ..		
1923 .. 52-56			in Bank ..	965	49
1922 .. 1,783-69					
1921 .. 377-50					
1920 .. 88-75					
1919 .. 52-25					
1918 .. 31-50					
1917 .. 25-75					
	2,422	50			
	Rs. 4,184	05		Rs. 4,184	05

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

15th June, 1923.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hon. Secretary & Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

## Receipts and Payments a/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1922.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance in the Bank ..	..	923 77	..	..	..
Govt Grant. . .	..	1,000 00	Balance ..	1,923	77
	Rs.	1,923 77		Rs.	1,923 77

Examined and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,  
15th June, 1923.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hony. Secretary & Treasurer,*  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

## Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund A/c. for the Year 1922.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance in the Bank ..	..	1,009 50	..	..	..
	Rs.	1,009 50	Balance ..	1,009	50
				Rs.	1,009 50

Examined and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,  
15th June, 1923.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hony. Secretary & Treasurer,*  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.



## PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS ON RIDIVIHARA

Dr. Andreas Nell had secured from England a number of Palm leaf MSS. collected in Ceylon by the late Mr. H. Parker of the Ceylon Irrigation Department and catalogued for sale by a London bookseller. He very kindly handed me four of these MSS. bearing on the history of Ridivihara near the Deduruoya in the Kurunegala District.

During the last fifty years a large number of old Sinhalese MSS. collected from the remote villages both from the villagers and from the Buddhist Viharas (temples) have been taken away to Europe and America and have been lost to the Island.

The following are the 4 MSS. referred to above.

## MS. No. I.

*Ridivihara Satara Mayim Asum* (Narrative of the Four Boundaries of Ridivihara) contains 13 pages of 18 inch palm leaf, 7 lines to a page. There are 7 leaves marked in Arabic figures 1 to 7 and Tamil letters *k* to *kru*. The ola is quite new and the writing modern and written by a good copyist.

The first page of the MS. has no writing, but on its left corner is given a circle with lines denoting the eight directions and some of the names given in the text as the eight boundaries of Ridivihara endowment are marked there.

The MS. starts with the invocation *Namo Buddhaya* බුද්ධා ඉමාසා adoration to the Buddha and ends with *Ridivihārayehi Satara Mahim Asum Samaptai* 82 මහරජාගේ මහරජාගේ අසුමේ මමාප්තයි. (The Narrative Regarding the four Boundaries of Ridivihara ends) and is followed by the words *Siddhirastu* (සිද්ධිරස්තු) *Subhamastu* (සුභමස්තු) "May I obtain my wishes; and may I gain good."

## MS. No. II.

contains three different books, 28 pages, 14 leaves of 9 inch length with 7 lines to a page. The leaves are

numbered *k* ක to *kaic* කෑ. On the first leaf the *k* ක is placed between *sva* ස and *sti* ස්. The Ola is not very old.

(a) *Ridivihara Satara Mayim Asum* contains leaves from *k* ක to *ku* කු 10 leaves, twenty pages. This MS. ends with the following sentence:—

In this way the manner in which this was done on the Kings's order for having it recorded in writing for future information—(was made by) Rajasekera Weerawickrama Devapoti Devanarayana Bhuwanekabahu Sittara (artisan).

(b) contains leaves *ke* කෙ to *ko*, කො 3 leaves, 5 pages, *Medirivihara* and *Sripavuva Vihara Mayim*. The boundaries of Vihara near *Sri Pavuwa* (Yapahuwa).

(c) contains one leaf, two pages. *Vurtama Vihara* (Sripavuva) *mayim*. The boundaries and conditions on which land has been set apart for *Vurtama Vihara* of Yapahuwa.

### MS. No. III.

*Ridivihara Asna* contains 26 pages, 13 leaves of 10 inch length with 8 lines to a page. The leaves are numbered from *jhrà* ක්‍රා to *ni*, ක්‍රි showing that the MS. is composed of leaves taken from a large MS. which had 127 leaves or 254 pages removed from it. A single MS. does not usually mean one book; very often a copyist writes a number of books in a single volume and marks the total number of leaves in the order in which it is written. The ola is fairly old and its characters are formed in accordance with MS. of an older date somewhat in the shape of characters found in Sinhalese stone inscriptions. The perfectly formed round characters in palm leaf MS. appear to date from a recent period. The writer of the MS. ends it with the expression of wishes:

May I obtain my wishes

May good accrue to me and

By the merit of writing this may I be freed from the sorrows of being and see Nirvana.

The MS. begins with two invoking phrases.



## MS. No. IV.

consists of 18 leaves of 10 inches with 5 lines to an inch. The leaves are numbered in accordance with old Sinhalese numerals, the tens of these figures are indicated by a vertical line carried on the top of each letter. Of the 18 leaves 15 are numbered in accordance with these numerals; from leaf No. 16 another form of marking is adopted, namely that of giving the names of the 27 *nekats* or asterisms in their order.

MS. appears to be a very old one. The book is written in practically pure Sinhalese words without the use of letters which have been derived from the Sanskrit alphabet. Hard consonants are not used at all.

The MS. begins with the Pali form of adoration to the Buddha.

MS. I. and MS. II. (a) both deal with the construction of Ridivihara and offerings of land for the endowment of the Vihara and give the boundaries of these lands. The account is styled

“ THE NARRATIVE OF THE FOUR BOUNDARIES OF  
RIDIVIHARA.”

This narrative appears to have been written for the purpose of reading in public with a view to inducing pious Buddhists to give contributions for repairing and renovating the old Vihara. The last few lines of the narrative show this: “Therefore good men who are wise, when King Dutugemunu has done so much for this one Vihara and in addition to this Vihara (he) completed 99 Viharas, 24 large Dagobas and numberless shrines with images and small Dagobas and (planted) Bodhi trees and for completing these works those who are able to wisely discern things will note the extent to which he spent and also after seeing with eyes of wisdom that all this was done for the future and after listening to this narrative, protect and improve the land that was offered for the Buddha and in his name so that the King's edict may not be disregarded and get the Vihara which is in a state of disrepair renovated and by offering the produce of the land as a noble duty and by making the customary

offerings and worship to the Buddha. Let all in their future states become free from the sorrows of evil places, obtain happiness in the human form and Deva (heavenly) forms and endeavour to see the future Buddha and attain to Nirvana. The MSS. describe the foundation of Ridivihara, giving the incident of the discovery of silver in a cave in the township of Emtota Pali, Ambatthakola near Deduruoya, at the time King Dutugemunu was about to build Ruwanweli Saya in Anuradhapura; the building of the Vihara at the cave by order of the King; the King's state visit to the place and the granting of lands for the endowment of the temple of which the boundaries are described in detail.

The King learning of the discovery of silver at Emtota Danáwa sent a minister Senapati with the chief artisan Visvakarma Patira and three hundred stone masons, and seven hundred artisans with three loads *Bora* ( ၁၄ ) gold for expenses and ordered him to collect the silver at the caves and construct a suitable Vihara on the spot. The minister started the work on the full moon day of *Durutu* (January) and completed it in three months and sixteen days and informed the King. The King was so pleased that he expressed the wish to visit the temple in person and take part in its dedication. The minister made necessary preparations for receiving the King and erected on the banks of Deduruoya a temporary royal city and decorated it suitably. The King visited the place in state and was highly pleased with the work done by the minister, and further desired to make a permanent offering to the Vihara by endowing it with land.

He commanded that messengers should be sent in the eight directions and made to take their places at suitable distances. And he ordered those who were gathered within the premises of the Vihara to follow him and give a cry of joy *Sādhū* ၁၁. The messengers who had been sent out in the eight directions were called back and the eight boundaries were marked at the spots where the



further ones heard the cry. Inscribed stones were planted in each place. The boundaries were Welimaluwa on the East, Muratuagama on the West, the camp where the vehicles were stopped on the North, bathing place on the South. The distance to each of these points it was found out was half a *gavua*.

The following are the marks that were engraved at each place. On the East at Welimaluwa (sandy patch) on a stone near the pond were engraved letters. On the *agni* (South-East) near the sluice of the tank a stone with engraved letters was planted. On the South at Tavalagama letters were engraved on a rock. On the *nirita* (South-west) at Ratisgama on a stone was engraved the figure of a crow. On the West at Lankesgama a stone pillar with engraved letters was planted. In the North-west near the bathing place a stone engraved with seven letters was planted. On the North where the chariot was stopped a stone pillar was erected. On the North-East at Liniavehera near the ridge of the hill the figure of a crow was engraved on a stone.

The King further made inquiries from the Rabat Elder Theras (saintly Buddhist monks) as to the length Buddhism will be maintained in the world. They informed the King that the *Sāsana* was once restored in the year 218 after the Buddha by the great King Dharmasoka. "Your Majesty has now restored it in the year 381 after Buddha by defeating the Tamils under Elāla who were destroying the country and the religion. It will remain for another 4621 years." The King then answered that when the kings of the four dynasties who are believers reign in the world true religion will be promoted by them, but when a country comes under the rule of a non-believing king, he will dispense justice and rule in accordance with the laws of the world, but he cannot be expected to maintain the "Law of the Buddha." Therefore it was ordered that further boundary stones should be planted. These were placed so as to make the land offered to the Vihare take the form of a semi-circle with Deduruoya as the base. The King

further ordered that the figures of fishes and four-footed animals should be engraved on pillars placed on East, South, North and West. On the Eastern pillar the figure of an eel was engraved. On the South was engraved the figure of a jackal, on the West the figure of a dog, and on the North the figure of a crow. Such marks and figures would, it was declared, bring to the notice of any one who through avarice is inclined to dispossess the land that he will when he dies be born again and again as a low animal through such remissness and suffer for long periods.

Further the King ordered that a stone inscription should be set up in the middle of the field describing the donation made by him and a suitable warning that the gift should not be taken away or misappropriated by any one at any time and should continue to be for the sole benefit of Ridivihara. He, the King, also gave three loads of gold *Bara* ௨௫ with orders to construct suitable tank and wells and clear the land and bring it under cultivation so that it may become a source of income to the temple. The ceremonies were continued for six days and the workmen were paid their wages. On the seventh day the ceremony of painting the eyes of the image of the Buddha was complete and the King entered the temple and made his adorations recalling to himself the Buddha during his life-time. After the adorations he made an offering of his crown and his jewellery that he was wearing at the time and all the ministers and attendants followed him by making an offering of jewellery and gold they were wearing. All these valuable offerings, it was declared, were to be used on future occasions when it became necessary to repair and renovate the buildings and they were buried in suitable places and marks were set up so that they could be taken up whenever required for the purpose for which they were intended. Some of the ministers and the workmen remained and in six months' time completed four large tanks and twenty-eight small tanks and opened up the land for cultivation



and the King was highly pleased with the manner in which the work had been completed. In addition to the wages of the men employed in the work they were given suitable presents by the King as a mark of his appreciation.

MSS. III. and IV. are named Ridivihara Asna, account of Ridivihara. The narrative supplements to some extent the account given in MSS. I. and II. (a).

The narrative introduces the subject by giving the account of King Dutugemunu's construction of Ruanwelisāya similar to the account in the *Thūpawaṇṣa*—beginning with the prophesy of Mahinda Thera as regards the work that King Dutugemunu will undertake 140 years after Devanampiyatissa and gives the manner in which various articles required for the construction of the Thupa were found and the discovery of silver by an enterprising trader while he was travelling with his carts to the hill country for obtaining ginger, turmeric and other goods. At his halting place at Emtota near Deduruoya he found a ripe jak fruit on a tree on the side of the cave, the branch on which the fruit was borne was bent towards the cave. The silver was discovered in the cave and the trader hurriedly returned with a piece of silver and informed the King.

The King's order for the removal of the silver and the construction of a Vihara at the cave is given in similar terms as MSS. 1 and 2. MSS. 3 and 4 however give in detail state visit of the King to the new Vihara. The King was accompanied by five-hundred Bhikkus, one thousand five-hundred Brahmins well versed in the Vedas, four thousand officers and five royal princes including Prince Sāli who were well versed in the 64 arts and sciences (a list of these is given in the books). Others in attendance were 1,000 women carrying fans, three hundred and fifty carrying cymbals, 1,500 acrobats and dancers, 2,000 elephants including the two Royal elephants, 20,000 cavalry and the infantry consisting of 13 divisions of Sinhalese and a foreign army consisting of men from 34 countries—

This list of the composition of the army is followed by an interesting list of kinds of clothing worn by them containing 124 names.

Then follows a list of 50 kinds of weapons.

In mentioning crowns the following four varieties are mentioned. *Siddha* (celestial), *Sin̄ha* (lion), *Vyāgra* (leopard), *kaḍḍa* (sword).

The king was accompanied by the queens and their attendants.

All the various kinds of drums and pipes and other musical instruments used in the procession are named.

The King remained seven days at the Vihara. He constructed shrines at each place of stoppage on the way which included Sanganu Vihara, Devagiri Vihara, Walagamba Vihara. The concluding portion of the work gives an account of all the good work done by the King for the benefit of his subjects. This account is similar to that given in the Mahavansa, Chapter 32, and in the Thupavansa. These MSS. are an interesting study. They are evidence of the existence of a very large number of written histories of ancient Viharas, cities, town and public endowments. It is evident that the account of Ridivihara given in the MSS. has been compiled in very early times. One MS. No. 4 bears this out as the style and orthography pertains to a very early period. MS. No. 3 which is practically similar in its account to No. 4, uses the later form of Sinhalese with hard consonants and Sanskrit orthography. It is an adaptation of No. 3 written out at a later date. The form of characters used in the MSS. are also significant, each one indicates the time it had been copied. Another interesting feature is the numbering of the ola leaves. In the oldest MS. No. 4 the leaves are numbered in the Sinhalese form of numbers, and also by a form of numbering by the use of the names of the 27 nekats, asterisms Asvida, Berana, Ketī.

MS. 3 is numbered in the usual way with the letters of the alphabet.



MS. 2 is numbered with letters of the Tamil alphabet.

MS. 1, in the usual method of letters of the Sinhalese alphabet.

The accounts in the MSS. give some interesting data in the measuring of distances. There is as is well known some confusion as regards the measure of distance given in different Sinhalese books. The distances are given in gauvas and 4 gauvas are a yojana. The measurement of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a gavu is given as the distance at which the shout of men were heard. The average distances of a yojana calculated in accordance with actual distances of places given in various books is 7 to 8 miles ("Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon"—Rhys Davids). A gavu there is  $7\frac{1}{4}$ , *i.e.*  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles, and half a gavu  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile. Dipavansa gives the length of the Island of Lanka as 32 yojana, breadth 18 yojana, and in circuit 100 yojana. The word gavu is derived from the distance at which the bellowing of a cow is heard. Yojana, it appears, is nothing more than a stage—King Dutugemunu's march to Ridivihara was done in 8 days. Where the country is difficult the distance of a yojana will be shorter than when travelling is easy. Speaking of travelling the account of the trader who discovered silver at the caves of Emtota (Ridivihara) shows a trade route to the hill district (Malaya country) from Anuradhapura by way of Ridivihara. It is also worth mentioning that the trader was bound to the hill country in order to obtain such goods as ginger and turmeric. Evidently these products grew well in the wet zone.

The books also show that workmen and artisans were well organised and each group of artisans had their foremen and that all workmen were paid regular wages for whatever work they did. The builders of the temple were paid from three Bara—loads of gold—sent to them. A Bara—4,000 gold pieces of 100 Masaka weight of the seed of Madatiya Adanathera, Pavonia, about an ounce in weight (80 kalanda equal 1 lb.), and subsequently for

the construction of tanks and the opening of land another 3 Bara of gold were spent.

In the opening of forest land for cultivation tanks were built on the spot, in the  $1\frac{3}{4}$  mile radius which formed the endowment to the Ridivihara. The land was made fit to be brought under cultivation by the construction of 4 tanks and 24 smaller tanks. This gives an idea as to the system of irrigation practised at the time.

The large irrigation reservoirs now found were reserve supplies of water and irrigation was promoted by the construction of small tanks. There are also passages which indicate the tenure of land at this early period. The King wanted to buy the land for the endowment of the temple. The lands belonged to the people. The defining of boundaries and the placing of boundary stones in partitioning out a land had been done in a very elaborate manner. Eight boundaries were marked and defined at eight points of the compass. Other boundary marks were placed between these so that there may be no mistake as to the boundary line. Next engraved stones were placed at the four cardinal points to show that the land was a religious offering and as a warning to the impious against the violation of the gift; in each of these the figures of an eel, a crow, a jackal, and a dog were engraved indicating that those who would dispossess the Vihara and the land will be born as one of the despised of the animal kingdom.

In addition a further stone was planted somewhere within the land giving an account of the donation.

This one land had one set of boundary marks, another of guiding marks, a third of warning marks and a fourth an inscription recording its donation.

The King's state procession is described in detail. The names of numerous officials employed in the court and in the administration of the country are given. There were two armies, the national army and the foreign army, and among those who composed the latter



are given the names of countries from which men were recruited.

The list of various kinds of arms carried and of wearing apparel, jewellery, music, etc., is a very large and comprehensive one. There is mention in the narrative, that the King was accompanied by five of his sons including prince Sāli, his eldest son. Mahawansa and other works make mention of prince Sāli only.

Finally there is mention of the five principal estates that formed the Government at that period, viz. :—

The King, the Viceroys, Hereditary Chiefs, elected Chiefs and the Chiefs of the Army. Each of these had their duties clearly defined and the Government was not complete unless these five institutions were in function.

Mr. Collins explained how the manuscripts came to be in the possession of the present owner. Some time ago Dr. Nell found in some catalogues published by London booksellers that Mrs. Parker was selling a collection of books which had been got together by Mr. Parker, a great antiquarian and research scholar in Ceylon. Amongst the books in the catalogue were these manuscripts. Dr. Nell thought it would be desirable that the books should be brought back to this country. The manuscripts undoubtedly came from Ridivihara, and were purchased by Mr. Parker who took them to England when he left Ceylon. The matter was brought to the notice of Government and steps were taken to bring the manuscripts back. Dr. Nell himself undertook to interest some public spirited gentlemen to guarantee the necessary outlay. The Government instructed the Crown Agents to make the purchase, and it might be mentioned that Mrs. Parker gave every facility for the return of the manuscripts to Ceylon. It was fortunate that they were saved for this country as they might have been sold abroad. Now that they have been brought to Ceylon it would be useless if they were simply restored to the temple and remained unused in the shelves of its library. Mr. de Silva had worked hard at the manuscripts; in fact, his holiday in Nuwara Eliya was partly spent on it—for which the Society was very grateful to him. With regard to the suggestion of Dr. Hewavitarna to print translations of the manuscripts for publication, it was all a question of money. If the Society had the money they could straightaway put the work in hand. The manuscripts for the future at any rate would be public property. They were extremely interesting. They might return them to the temple and have copies in the Library or send the copies to the temple retaining the originals with the Society.

His Excellency said that the thanks of the Society were due to Mr. de Silva for his very interesting paper. He had given them, an insight into the procedure adopted when those old Viharas and temples were established. He agreed with Dr. Hewavitarna and Dr. Paul that it would be very desirable if more translations of these ancient *olas* could be obtained, particularly since Dr. Hewavitarna has stated that there were still

in the Deduru Oya District some of the descendants of those who were the original grantees of land. Dr. Nell also deserved great praise for having rescued the manuscripts. (Cheers). They evidently contained a great deal of very interesting history—history which must be correct, supported as it was further by comparison with the Mahawansa. He hoped that it might be possible, as Mr. Collins said, to get further *olas* and somebody like Mr. de Silva discourse upon them. He had thoroughly enjoyed the evening and he was sure others present also had. The thanks of the Society were due to Mr. de Silva for this excellent paper. (Cheers).

Dr. A. Nell in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer said: that he had spent much time in search of a Sinhalese work on irrigation called "Jalanandana." Mr. Parker in his book "Ancient Ceylon" went into so thoroughly and in such detail the ancient system of irrigation that it seemed as though he had some special source of information. He tried to obtain the manuscript and had told the London book-sellers to let him know when the manuscript came in the market. All the 42 items in the catalogue were known in Ceylon, in the Museum Library, the Kandy Oriental Library and in the Maligakanda Library. The seven manuscripts just restored were not in Ceylon. He hoped that the work in Sinhalese on Irrigation could be secured and Mr. de Silva induced to translate it for the Society.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 17, 1923.*

## Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., President,  
in the Chair.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

„ A. Nell.

Prof. Robert Marrs.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,

„ Lionel de Fonseka.

Hony. Secretaries.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 25th April, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded, were elected members of the Society:—

- (a) Sangarapillai Pararajasingham,
- (b) Albert E. Jayasinha,
- (c) Arthur Donald de Fonseka,
- (d) Percy Herbert Kuruppu Goonetilleke,
- (e) Cecil Ernest Goonaratna,
- (f) Lionel de Silva,
- (g) Hon. Sir H. C. Gollan, K.C., C.B.E.,
- (h) Joseph Lionel Christie Rodrigo,
- (i) Don Stephen Senanayaka,
- (j) Ratnasabapathy Sri Pathmanathan,
- (k) K. Vaithianathan,
- (l) Francis Benjamin de Mel,
- (m) Rupert Wijesundara Jayasingha,
- (n) Simon O. Sirimana,
- (o) K. Kumaraswami,

3. A list of members elected by circular since last Council Meeting was laid on the table:

- (a) C. E. A. Dias,
- (b) Louis Lucien Hunter,
- (c) Louis Siedle (jr.),
- (d) Jaganathan Tyagaraja,
- (e) Charles Pieris,
- (f) Tampipillai Karalapillai, Gate Mudaliyar.

4. The Honorary Secretary read correspondence concerning the charges for printing made by the Colombo Apothecaries Co. The Council acquiesced in the action taken by the Honorary Secretary and authorized him to communicate further with the company.

5. A letter from the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., to the Honorary Secretary re Centenary Meetings of the Parent Society stating that he and Mr. Codrington had attended certain meetings as the representatives of this Society was read.

## GENERAL MEETING

*Colombo Museum, October 17, 1923*

## Present:

Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., Vice-Patron, in the Chair.	
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.	
Miss N. C. Carter.	Mr. F. Lewis.
Mr. V. E. Charavanamuttu.	„ R. Marrs, M.A.
„ J. E. Gunasekara.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
„ G. E. Harding.	Mr. S. A. Pakeman.
„ D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.	„ S. Pararajasingham.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.	Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana.	Mr. H. Pound.
„ Harry Jayawardana,	„ R. Sagarajasingham.
Mudaliyar.	„ W. Samarasingha,
„ C. H. Jolliffe.	Atapattu Mudaliyar.
„ T. Karalapillai, Gate	„ W. Sathasivam.
Mudaliyar.	
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,	} Hon. Secretaries.
„ Lionel de Fonseka.	

Visitors: 7 ladies and 2 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on the 27th June, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. Sir P. Arunáchalam moved the following vote of condolence with the members of the family of the late Sir W. E. Davidson:—  
Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Sir W. E. Davidson be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Society be conveyed to the members of Sir W. E. Davidson's family.

3. Mr. C. H. Collins moved the following vote of condolence with the members of the family of the late Mr. J. P. Lewis:—

Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Mr. J. P. Lewis be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Society be conveyed to the members of Mr. J. P. Lewis' family.

4. Dr. A. Nell read a paper entitled "The Captivity of Major Davie," by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.



### THE CAPTIVITY OF MAJOR DAYIE

A century has passed since the death, in captivity at Kandy, of Major Davie, the principal survivor of the massacre, in June, 1803, of the British garrison. It will be recollected that with the exception of Davie, who was the commandant, and five others, the whole of the Europeans were massacred. Eleven officers of the 19th and the 51st Foot (both of them Yorkshire regiments), the Malay Regiment and the Bengal Artillery, and twenty men of the 19th Regiment were butchered near the Paranagantota ferry, two miles from the town on the path to Trincomalie, and one hundred and twenty men of the last named corps at the hospital within the palace.\* Captain Richard Humphreys of the Bengal Artillery, who escaped from the ferry massacre, and Captain Edward Rumley of the Malay Regiment, who seem to have been spared, died at Kandy within a fortnight. A sub-assistant surgeon of the Malay Regiment, who had eluded the Kandians at the ferry by hiding in a dry well and had helped Humphreys also to get away from them, managed to make his escape to Colombo in the following September. His name was Greeving and this and the fact that he was a native of Colombo show that he was a Dutchman or of Dutch descent.†

The two others who escaped were Corporal Barnsley of the 19th Regiment and Sergeant Jan Egbertus Thoen of the Bengal Artillery. Both had marvellous experiences, which they described to officers of the British

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\* It is not correct as stated in an article entitled "A Forgotten Tragedy" in the "Cornhill Magazine" for October, 1909, by a writer who calls herself "Balkis," which is according to Moham-medan tradition the name of the Queen of Sheba who visited King Solomon, that "of the whole garrison one thousand strong, but one man escaped." Neither is it correct that the number of Europeans massacred at the hospital was so large as 190. Captain De Bussche makes it 150, Dr. Marshall 120.

† From an account of the massacre published in "Illustrated London News" of August, 1850.

Army in narratives which were taken down from their lips, one within thirty-six hours, the other twelve years after the event. Barnsley's narrative is familiar to us as it is printed in books on Ceylon that are easily accessible.\*

It was from the Watapuluwa massacre that Barnsley made his escape. Thoen's experience at the hospital was even more thrilling.† As the book in which Thoen's "Narrative" is published is difficult to come across, and as we shall meet with Thoen's name more than once in this account of Davie's captivity, we will describe his adventures. A long hall in the palace had been appropriated to the purposes of a hospital by the British, and Thoen was seated in the middle of this hall when the Kandyans entered and began to butcher indiscriminately every one in the room. He tried to reach the door on his crutches but was like Barnsley "felled like a bullock." But fortunately for him as for the corporal this blow was conceived to be sufficient—probably the butchers, with 120 men to kill, were in a hurry—and he was left for dead. When he came to his senses he found him lying in the court outside the hall naked and partially flayed, for he had bandages on, and "they had torn off the handkerchief and blisters, and with them all the skin from my belly." It was then about five or six in the evening, and he crawled away into the back purlieus of the palace, straight into the hands of a dozen Kandyans who promptly hanged him to a beam in a gateway of one of the adjoining temples and left him in that case. But his luck did not desert him, the rope broke and when he next recovered his senses, he was lying

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\*It is published as an Appendix to Captain Anderson's "Wanderer in Ceylon" and there is a summary of it in "A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a gentleman on the Sports," London, 1815. The author is supposed to have been William Tolfrey of the Civil Service.

†Thoen as we shall see, who was not the only Dutchman at Kandy at this period, is referred to as "the Dutchman who had been taken in the war, who made gun-powder and married a Moor woman," also as "the Artillery soldier Jan."



on the ground under the beam: it was quite dark and he was alone. He crawled away to a deserted house, a quarter of a mile off, and here he remained for seven or eight days and never saw a soul. It was the height of the south-west monsoon and it rained day and night. During this period all that this Dutchman, who had been for two months in hospital suffering from fever and beri-beri and who was so weak that he could only walk on crutches, who had been in addition knocked on the head, partially flayed and finally strung up by the neck, had to eat, was some high grass that grew close to the hut, to which he crawled out and ate, and for drink he had "the dirty water that fell on the ground." He was besides quite naked. Yet the wound in his head gradually healed and in 15 or 16 days he had quite recovered. He himself attributes his recovery to constant bathing, for which he had every facility, as he was naked and it never stopped raining. But he certainly seems to have been liberally endowed with the tenacity and stolidity of his race.

At the end of the eight days he was found by a Kandyan who treated him well, for he supplied him with curry and rice "sufficient for four men," the whole of which Thoen ate up at once. He then slept the rest of the day and till next morning. Two Caffres came for him and shut him up in a prison. Eventually he was taken before the King who was so much impressed by his wonderful escapes that he expressed the opinion that, after all he had suffered, no one but God would kill him, and promised that no one should ever do him any harm. He had already come across another European at Kandy, an Englishman named Benson who had deserted from the Bengal Artillery at the time of the expedition sent from Kandy against the King at his palace of Hanguran-keta, some seventeen miles distant from the capital, eleven days before the final catastrophe. This renegade was still wearing the uniform of his old corps, with the addition, quite in keeping with the tastes of deserters, mutineers and buccaneers at all times, of a gold chain

round his neck, and, slung under his arm-pit, Kandyan fashion, a silver-hilted sword of the Sinhalese pattern—the hilt a grotesque lion's-head and the blade about eighteen inches long. These were presents from his new master, the King. Benson spoke to him, and after that, says Thoen, he used to follow Benson "like a dog," but he did not get much benefit from this, for Benson gave him "neither victuals nor anything else, and when I asked him for a little tobacco, he said he had none." They however shared some salt beef and arrack "left behind by the English," which the King gave them. Benson coward and swaggerer as he was, had never even learnt the details of his profession. "He used sometimes to drill the natives a little.....but did not know much about the matter." He seemed in great favour with the King, and was "a good deal with the great people." The end of him was that he accompanied the King in an unsuccessful raid against the British at Hanwella, eighteen miles from Colombo, in the following September, and was so severely wounded by a retributive British bullet that he died in six weeks in great pain, and was buried by Thoen with his own hands.

A few days before his death he had told Thoen that there was no subsistence for Europeans in Kandy, and that he should inform the natives that Thoen could make gunpowder, and in consequence of this Thoen was set to this work on pain of death. Benson had left them a book containing how to make it and the Kandyans supplied him with arrack, sulphur, charcoal and salt for the purpose, but Thoen gave away the arrack to the Bengal lascars and camp-followers of the British garrison that were left in Kandy and had been ordered to assist him in the work, and substituted lime water for it. The result was that the powder that he produced was useless, "just like so much flour," which made the Kandyans so angry that they put a stop to his making of gunpowder, as they "could make better themselves." The King made Thoen an allowance of about nine shillings a month paid with oriental irregularity, and he was given a piece of



ground on which he built a hut, and here he lived for the rest of his time in Kandy. After four years' captivity, he married a Mohammedan girl, himself becoming a Mohammedan for the purpose, as she refused to marry him unless he did. But he says "I never learnt any of their prayers, nor even saw their churches; it was only for the name of it and to get some one to take care of me. I always prayed to God, night and day, in the Christian religion." And just as Robert Knox, his predecessor in captivity of a century and a half before, happened on an English Bible and looked upon the find as a special manifestation of God, "of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given out of Heaven," so Thoen found the greatest consolation in a few chapters of Jeremiah, all that was left to him out of a torn Bible which had belonged to an English soldier, and on all occasions when in trouble he resorted for comfort to the perusal of these fragmentary denunciations or "Lamentations" of the Hebrew prophet's.

When the British troops occupied Kandy in 1815, "a European of meagre and sallow appearance, in the dress of a Kandyan, with a long matted beard," presented himself before the staff. This was Thoen. He was given a subordinate post in the Ordnance Store Department at Galle, where he and his wife spent the rest of their days. A book was to be written of his adventures, but Thoen "never could speak the English language correctly," and besides, was no Robert Knox, and the book was never written.

His more important fellow captive, Major Davie, was less fortunate, for he was destined never again to hear that language spoken, or to set eyes on an Englishman. His name is still known among the Kandyans, though his own countrymen, not without reason, have been content to let it rest in oblivion except for the designation, "Davie's road," given to the path by which the fatal ferry is approached from Kandy. The tree which stood on the summit of a small hill, overlooking the ferry and the "Great Sand River" with its waters,

now shallow, translucent and placed, now deep, turgid and muddy, but ever gliding away on their hundred-mile course towards Trincomalie—the tree under whose wide-spreading branches Davie and his officers passed their last night together before the dawn of that gruesome Sunday, the 28th of June—existed and flourished down to 1903, or for exactly a century after the massacre, and then to all appearances died away with only a great gaunt trunk and withered arms, rapidly rotting, remaining. It was known to the villagers as “Davie’s tree.” The site has recently been marked, and the name perpetuated by the erection of an inscribed stone reminding the visitor of the tragedy with which the tree was connected.\* Curiously enough no sooner had this tribute to the memory and misfortunes of the brave but hapless garrison been rendered, than it was discovered that the old tree a *bo* or peepul, the sacred tree of Buddhism, had, as is the habit of this species—witness the celebrated *bo* tree of Anuradhapura which is exactly twenty-one centuries old—thrown out a new and vigorous shoot which was growing up in the midst of the decaying stump, so that the name, even without the help of the more enduring record, is likely to be handed on to future generations of Kandyans.

Adam Davie—history has not been kind to this conjunction of names for the only other Adam Davie known to history was “a fanatical rhymist” of the fourteenth century—was an Edinburgh man. He was the son of John Davie, well known in that city by the cognomen of “Sooty Davie,” from the circumstance that he owned a manufactory there for making sal ammoniac from coal soot. He received a commission in the 75th Regiment, obtained his company in 1793 and joined his regiment in the Madras Presidency. On April 25th, 1801, he was gazetted major in the Malay Regiment, which had just been raised in the Island. He became commandant of

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\* See Appendix A.



Fort Ostenburg, Trincomalie, on October 19th, 1802, and of the garrison of Kandy, whither he had proceeded with his regiment, on May 8th, 1803, when Lieut-Colonel Barbut left to join the Governor and General Hay Macdowal at Dambadeniya. A letter from Davie dated June 17, just a week before the debacle, shows that he accepted the position very unwillingly and with many misgivings. He does not seem to have shone "in the unexalted routine of regimental duty" any more than he did on active service. While in India he on one occasion obtained leave from the commander of the forces, without reference to his colonel, with the result that that officer had him arrested at one of the ports on the Bombay coast at which his vessel happened to touch. He was tried on a charge of "absconding" but acquitted. At Colombo he was acting commanding officer in 1801-2, and was therefore responsible for the discipline of the corps, when an incident occurred which shows that he was hardly an exponent of that fundamental element of a soldier's training. On May 8th, 1802, exactly a twelve month before Davie became commandant at Kandy, an ensign of the Malay Regiment was tried by Court-martial for having challenged a captain of his corps to fight a duel, and on other charges arising out of an altercation between them. The proceedings of the court martial disclosed "an extraordinary lack of discipline" in the regiment, and General Macdowal, when confirming the findings of the court, gave the officers a severe lecture on these symptoms of insubordination and want of discipline.

Davie is described by those who knew him as "well disposed, inoffensive man without any practical experience of hostile military operations. He had never seen any active service in India or elsewhere. Judging from his conduct in captivity, when, for the most trivial reason, he made no attempt to carry out any suggestions as to his escape, he was of an undecided character, without any element of heroism about him. Captain De Bussche, who took part in the expedition to

Kandy in 1815, says "I should almost think that he had become reconciled to his fate, as after the most minute inquiry I cannot find that he ever made any serious attempt to regain his liberty, the effecting of which, difficult as it might be, was certainly not impracticable."

Different writers have taken different views of his conduct in the surrender of the garrison.\* Dr. Marshall endeavours to defend him against William Knighton who in his "History of Ceylon," accuses him of misconduct. Marshall remarks that Major Beaver in his account of the Kandyan war (this, with the exception of extracts in gazettes, has not been published) and the Rev. James Cordiner "are both very cautious in attributing misconduct to Major Davie." But even Dr. Marshall, who was evidently one of those men who like to take the unpopular side, damns him with faint praise. In captivity all that he appears to have cared for was his creature comforts and such small luxuries as tea, sugar candy and chickens to eat.

It is interesting to learn from the diary of Mrs. Heber, wife of the Bishop, that Sir Edward Barnes, whose opinion on such a matter should carry weight, considered Davie's action in evacuating the town "improper and unnecessary." (Journal, Vol. II., p. 166). He rode out with her to the scene of the massacre, after Church on Sunday, the 18th September, 1825. At that time, only 22 years after the event, tradition was naturally more full and definite than it is now. "A large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones, was shown me as the place where the King beheld the massacre; and a tree on the spot where the negotiation was held still bears the name of 'Major Davie's (sic) tree.'"

At the present day, it seems doubtful where exactly the massacre took place, but from Corporal Barnsley's account of it and of his escape, it cannot have been far

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\* I doubt whether it is correct, as stated in the "Cornhill" article that Davie's officers held the same view as himself as to the expediency of offering no resistance. I have heard a tradition to the contrary.



from the river. The troops were encamped on or near the bank of the river, they began, by Davie's orders, the return march to Kandy, and had "proceeded 200 yards on their way thither" when they were stopped by the Kandyans, and after half an hour, led forth two by two and butchered. But Sir Archibald Lawrie says: "The place where the Englishmen were killed is called Wagolla, it is near a large bo-tree, in a lane leading to the river. The railway line to Matale is carried close by. On the rising ground above the river Mahaweli-ganga stands a tree still known as Davie's tree. It overlooks the ferry which the troops in vain tried to cross. It was not at this tree but near the bo-tree nearer Kandy that our men were killed." ("Gazetteer of the Central Province," Vol. II., p. 565). It would be worth while endeavouring to identify this stone platform if it still exists. This writer regrets that he had not seen this reference to it in Mrs. Heber's Journal before he left Kandy. The officers, it should be noted, met their death whether at their own hands or at those of the Kandyans, at some distance off, possibly nearer Kandy and at the bo-tree at Wagolla. Shots were heard by the men while they were halted after the officers had been carried away.

Our information about Davie has recently been supplemented by the discovery of the official diary (unfortunately in a very incomplete and imperfect condition) of Mr. John D'Oyly, who was Collector of Colombo from 1806 to 1815, and combined with that office that of Chief Interpreter to the Ceylon Government, a position which he owed to the fact that he was a notable Sinhalese scholar. He accompanied the British army to Kandy in 1815, acting as guide and interpreter, and on the conquest of the Kandyan provinces, remained at Kandy as its first "Resident," and in 1820 was made a baronet for his services during the expedition.

It is with his diary, beginning in 1810, that we are concerned. D'Oyly had various agents at Kandy and was in communication with Davie by means of

messengers of all sorts. These agents and spies comprised Buddhist priests, chiefs and minor headmen, Kandyan and low-country Sinhalese as well as Dutchmen and "Moors" or "Moormen."

The diary from 1806 to September, 1810, is unfortunately, not forthcoming,\* and there is a gap from February 3rd to November 12th, 1811, as that portion of the diary is also missing. The first reference to Davie in what remains is dated September 10th, 1810, and the last February 21st, 1813.

When we first hear of Davie he was so much in favour with the King that he had even been given an office of some importance for he had been appointed "Madige Disawa," or chief of the bullock carriage department, the members of which were chiefly "Moors," with some Sinhalese of fisher caste, who must have been from the low-country or coast. Their chief business was to trade for the King in the royal monopolies, arrack, arekanut, salt, etc. They also transported the royal

\* The lost portion must also have contained entries referring to Davie for in an interview with one of D'Oyly's messengers, Pilime Talawwa remarks "How many presents and how many letters had been sent to Kandy within the last four years and what advantages had been derived from it. If the Disawa were wise he would not send any more letters.....Tell him not to send any more letters till I come to Kandy." The Adigar was then residing at a village in the seven Korales. By "the Disawa" is meant D'Oyly who was usually styled by the Kandyan "the Disawa of Colombo" as the head of the Western Province. The title of "Disawa" was borne not merely by the chiefs of the largest divisions or provinces of the Kandyan kingdom but also by some of the Dutch officers, e.g. the "Disawa" of Colombo, the Disawa of Matara, the Disawa of Jaffanapatam. The last 4 years is exactly the period during which D'Oyly had been Collector of Colombo, and it may well be that communication with Davie and definite information about him had only been obtained with D'Oyly's advent to Colombo in 1806. The authorities at Colombo must have thought him dead or at least as good as dead, in May of that year, when steps were taken to administer his estate, the value of which was returned at 5,200 rix-dollars, (about 3,900 rupees). The administration was resumed in 1813, when he was really dead.



grain. There were two of these Madige departments each attached to one of the storehouses which were called the Maha Gabadawa or "Great Storehouse," and the Uda Gabadawa or "Upper Storehouse." The chief at the head of the former, who had special charge of Davie afterwards, was called the Maha Gabada Nilame, and his brother known as "Puswelle Disawa," was one of the chief headmen in frequent communication with D'Oyly.

Davie had been given place of residence in the *Palle Wahala* or "Lower Palace," which was the name given to that part of the palace not reserved to the King, the establishment of the queens and princes. "*Wahala*" means "gate," the "*Maha Wahala*" meant originally the main entrance to the palace, and secondarily the palace itself, and from this signification it came to be applied to the King himself, who was looked upon as so august that he could not be spoken of in plain terms but by a circumlocution, he was "the Supreme Great Gate," "the Great Gate Supreme," and it was by this title fit for a comic opera, that he is mentioned, both by D'Oyly and the officials from the court of Kandy in interviews which took place between them.

The punctiliousness, the gravity, and the bombastic language characteristic of these interviews—which never had any practical result—are indeed suggestive of W. S. Gilbert and the Savoy. For instance, on February 18th, 1812, we find it recorded in the diary that two Kandyan headmen arrived at the office of the Collector or as the Kandians called him the "Disawa," of Colombo, with a letter from the First Adigar of the King. The envoys appeared before D'Oyly with the usual Kandyan ceremonial walking in a procession with their attendants, namely an "Arachchi" or Sergeant bearing a lance, two men on each side with large fans fanning the envoys at intervals, two men behind the envoys holding

large round talipot leaves as umbrellas over them, a "Liyana Duraya" or clerk, and then eleven lascoreens and coolies. One of the envoys bore the letter, which was written on an ola or palm leaf, uplifted in his right hand as high as his head. The envoys bow and the ola, held in both hands, is presented to the Collector. The following dialogue then ensues:—

"When you left Kandy how was the health of the Supreme Great Gate?"

"When we left Kandy the Supreme Great Gate was in good health without any affliction."

"I am much gratified to hear it. How is the health of the Principal Chiefs in the Circle of Ministers of the Great Gate Supreme?"

"When we left Kandyan territory they were all in good health."

"Who delivered to you this ola which you have brought?"

"Pallegampaha Maha Adhikaram Mantriawarayanwahanse delivered it to us to be presented to the Great Disawa of Colombo."

"How was the health of Pallegampaha Maha Adhikaram, etc," when you left Batagedera?"

"He was in good health without any indisposition."

"I am much rejoiced to hear it. If you were instructed to deliver any verbal message, you are at liberty to communicate it."

"There will be a verbal message."

"Then you are at liberty to state it."

"We are instructed to inquire after the health of His Excellency the Governor."

"H. E. the Governor is at present in proper health. Have you any other message?"

"We are instructed to inquire after the health of the Great Disawa of Colombo."

"I am in good health, I am much gratified that he has made this inquiry. Have you any other message?"



"We are instructed to inquire after the health of the Maha Mudaliyar."

"Have you any other message?"

"No. At present we have no other message."

"It is well. You may go to the place of your residence and remain there till you receive a message. If anything should be wanting you will make it known to the Muhandiram. Having perused this ola, I will call you hither again. You may take your leave."

They make obeisance and retire. Besides the four Lascoreens who bear the talipots and fans, another Lascoreen carries a copper kettle filled with water and still another a coarse cloth with blue stripes. The use of this last article is to be spread on stone or tree trunk for the envoys to sit on whenever they want to rest themselves during their travels. And it will be noted that these are all the "impedimenta" required by Kandyans of importance in a journey of seventy miles or more "over hill, over dale, through bush, through brier"—positively cool climate at from about 2,000 feet elevation to a grillingly hot one at sea level.

To return to Major Davie. He seems at one time to have been living at the house of the Maha Gabada Nilame at a place called Migon Arambe, "the arekanut palm grove of the buffaloes" which was close to the Malwatta, or "Flower Garden," monastery, which is still the principal Buddhist establishment in Kandy, situated on the opposite side of the lake to the palace. The King was just then having the lake constructed by forced labour—much to his subjects' distaste. The quarters which Davie was assigned in the Lower Palace had been the residence of the late "Asthana Dewiyo," who was a brother of two of the King's predecessors on the Kandyan throne and were now occupied by Muttal Sami, the King's cousin. They were in "Kumaruppe Street," now called

"Malabar Street," where in the time of the last Kings, their relatives, the Malabar princes, lived, and which the Sinhalese were forbidden to approach, "where none but Malabars, not even priests, can go." All the best houses were situated in this street, though that, it is true, is not saying much, for nearly all the houses in the town were built of mud and thatched, a few only, belonging to the headmen, were tiled and whitewashed. Davie's house appears to have been under the *bo* tree which is still to be seen in the grounds of the Military Hospital, overlooking the placid waters of the lake.

But Davie soon got into trouble owing to some letters of his that were seized in transit, and in consequence an order was made that he should be beheaded, but he was spared through the intercession of the Maha Gabada Nilame and of Kobbekaduwe, the priest of the Poya Maluwa temple next to the Malwatta monastery, who had been tutor to the last King and had taught him Sinhalese, and, it was said, the priest knew English, and was one of D'Oyly's correspondents. Such at least was the information received by D'Oyly from his spies. Davie had been for eight days in Kandy, at the house of the Maha Gabada Nilame at Migon Arambe, and had then been sent back to the Dumbara district north of Kandy, to a village two leagues from the town—no doubt Hurikaduwa which was a Madige village, *i.e.*, a village attached to the Madige department. Here he remained for some time, attending, as Thoen had to do, to the making of gunpowder, and also to "various carpenter's works," and here he was seen about the end of November, 1810, by one of D'Oyly's emissaries who took a letter to him concealed in a quill.

He describes him as sitting on a "messa," a hurdle-like platform constructed of sticks, used in Kandyan houses for sitting or sleeping or keeping pots on. It



was covered with straw and a mat but had no cloth on it. He was wearing an old jacket in good condition and white pantaloons which were torn. He had a long beard and seemed to be "ill provided with victuals" since the chiefs had left Kandy. It should be explained that the King had recently sent the Disawas to their districts ostensibly to catch elephants, but really, it was suspected, to prepare for incursions into British territory. D'Oyly, on January 25th, 1811, ascertained this from one of his agents, a Buddhist priest who at first told him that it was for the purpose of catching elephants. "Was there no other cause?" asked the astute Collector, to which the priest, who seems to have had some sense of humour, mouth duly hidden behind fan, and with the Kandyan equivalent of a wink in his eye, replied: "Publicly I know of no other cause, but secretly I can tell a little. It was because there was intelligence of War proceeding in the Sea, and that the French and Dutch were coming. But now there is no talk of that nature." Probably the chiefs resident in Kandy had orders from the King to supply in turn the captive with provisions in order to save the Gabadawa. Consequently when they were away he fared badly. Thoen says that he used to buy things for him in the bazaar and send them to him and we shall later see that Davie got into debt to traders.

Davie read the letter and inquired how many days ago the messenger had received it. When asked whether he would go with the messenger and attempt to get away he replied that he could not for want of sandals, and he desired that a pair might be sent to him. He added that for want of ink he could not write an answer and requested that ink in a phial or ink-powder might be sent to him. The messenger returned to Kandy but visited Davie again thirty days later, when he again asked him to bring ink and paper, also to tell "the Disawa" (D'Oyly) that he wanted money to buy fowls. During this interval of a whole month it had apparently never occurred to this feckless person to set about devising any

method of writing a reply to D'Oyly without pen and ink. Yet the native method of writing on an ola with a style was easily acquired and Davie must have often seen the Kandyans around him writing in this way. He was certainly not resourceful and compares very unfavourably in this respect with Thoen's wife. Thoen was in constant communication with him through her and used to "make ink with burnt rice" and buy things such as China paper for him in the bazaar and employ Tamils and Kandyans in carrying notes to him. But Davie could not write without ink nor escape without shoes.

Towards the end of December, 1810, Davie was brought into Kandy ill, had been cured in about eight or nine days, and had been sent back into Dumbura as soon as he recovered. This information came from the Gabadawa people. Twelve days later, came another report that he was now quite well and had been supplied with victuals and was wearing English clothes but had no shoes or stockings. The King used to send for him occasionally and then return him to his village in the country.

We must now perforce skip nine or ten months. Davie must also in the meanwhile have been supplied by D'Oyly with ink and paper, for he wrote two letters to D'Oyly from a village called Gomagoda, distant fourteen or sixteen miles from Kandy, one dated "April 6th," and the other "July 1st," 1811, which were not received by him until December 6th and November 13th, respectively. Davie had apparently not despatched the first letter until November, for the messenger stated that he had received it from Davie "30 days ago." Davie had then been living for two months at the Migon Arambe, and had been very sick, but had been supplied by the messenger's brother—so he said—with two bottles of arrack from Negombo, by the use of which he was sufficiently recovered to walk about.

The explanation of Davie's removal to Kandy on this occasion was curious. He had been living at Napana, near Hurikaduwa, and while there had dreamt that the palace would be burnt down, and had sent to inform the



King of his dream. The very next night, as it happened, the "Setapenage" or sleeping apartment in the palace near the audience hall had been burnt, and in consequence the King had sent for Davie and detained him at Kandy. He was in a fair way to becoming the Joseph of this Kandyan Pharaoh.

With this letter Davie sent a draft for 800 Bombay rupees on the Ceylon Government in favour of a trader named "Lala Brahman," who kept a shop for medicines and drugs at Kandy, and to whom Davie was in debt.

In this letter of July 1st, he acknowledges the receipt of 10 pagodas sent to him on September 14th, 1810: The messenger who was a villager from Degaldoruwa reported that he found him lying down, apparently sickly. He read the Collector's letter and immediately tore it up, as if displeased, but "he appeared pleased with the ten pagodas." Possibly D'Oyly was urging him to make an effort to escape. He told the messenger not to come again, but that he would send an answer through the "gammahe" who cooked for him.\* The answer, *i.e.* the letter of July, was brought by the "gammahe" about five days later and twenty days before the messenger left for Colombo. The "gammahe" had told him that he had caught a man from Talawinna, another Dumbara village, who had come to get a letter from Davie, had beaten him, and was about to send him into Kandy, but owing to his importunities, had released him, merely taking away his knife. The messenger added that the "gammahe" was in Davie's interest, but would not suffer other people to hold communication with him without his privity. Judging from the character of his custodians, one is inclined to think that it would have been an easy matter for Davie, at this time, if he had wished it, to have made his escape and sure enough, next day, November 14th, there came a Buddhist priest with a plan of his own for effecting his rescue which he said he had long had in contemplation.

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\* An hereditary village headman. There was a "gammahe" in charge of Davie, living in his house.

But he told a story about him which shows how Davie occupied himself with comparatively trivial things while neglecting the weightier matter of co-operating with D'Oyly and his emissaries in devising a means of escape. The priest had been living for two or three years at the Degaldoruwa rock temple about two miles from Kandy near the Lewella ferry on the way to Davie's village in Dumbara. Davie had been insulted by his Tamil servant, and had started to go into Kandy to complain of him. He had passed the temple and got as far as the ferry, but was prevented from proceeding further and was detained at the temple. But headmen came from Kandy and inquired into the complaint, the servant was punished and others were allotted to him from the Gabadawa.

The priest suggested that this messenger and three or four trustworthy persons should be employed to bring Davie away at night, carrying him in a cloth as he was unable to walk. It should be arranged with the "gammah" that no intelligence of his escape should reach Kandy or be published in the neighbourhood till they had brought him across the limits of the King's territory, which could be done in three nights. For this purpose wanted 50 star pagodas and 50 porto novo pagodas, which he would repay if unsuccessful.\* He was not certain of success but would use his best endeavours. D'Oyly gave him the money when he attended with the messenger two days later, and he gave the messenger a letter for Davie with the following articles: a phial of hartshorn, 1 pound of tea, some salt fish, 2 sheets of paper, 2 quills, some ink-powder, a pencil, 5 gold mohurs and 10 star pagodas.

But nothing came of this priest's efforts. D'Oyly received a letter from him on January 8th, 1812, which was brought by another Buddhist priest with a letter

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\* The Madras pagoda was the "Star pagoda," which contained 42 "fanam," that of the Dutch Company was the "Porto Novo Pagoda," which was equal to 35 only.



from Davie wrapped in a lump of jaggery (native sugar). A priest of the Asgiriya monastery—the other great Buddhist establishment at Kandy—was the channel of communication with Davie. The letter was to the effect that Davie could be rescued if D'Oyly would now send two good silk cloths (presumably for bribes), with 20 or 30 pagōdas and 200 star pagōdas. On February 1st, he received another letter from the priest informing him that he had interviewed this Asgiriya priest, who held the position of second "Anunayaka Hamaduruwo," *i.e.*, third in order of rank among the Asgiriya monks, and who said that "he was well able to accomplish the matter if the Disawa would send him a letter of recommendation." The priest himself appeared on March 15th. He had spent the 50 porto novo pagōdas in gaining over coolies to convey Davie away, and also the greater part of the 50 star pagōdas. His failure seems to have been due in part to Davie's having got into further trouble with the King and to rumours that had got abroad about a scheme for his rescue, which had resulted in a stricter watch being kept over him, as will presently be related. The priest reiterated that he would repay the money if he could not accomplish his object of which he did not altogether despair. All that he wanted now was a pencil and paper, and he could find a means of bringing a letter from the gentleman. D'Oyly gave him a letter and two sheets of paper and here we hear the last of his efforts at rescue.

On December 5th, 1811, D'Oyly despatched "the Malay Muhandiram," a Malay who had been in the service of the King and the functionary who had, in fact, carried out his orders for the massacre of the British troops, but had recently joined Pilima Talawwe, the First Adigar, in his abortive plot against the King and had fled to Colombo to British protection, to make himself acquainted in the most secret manner with the state of the Kandyan country.....with the paths to Dumbura, and to ascertain if possible where the Englishman was residing, also whether there was an opportunity of

accomplishing his rescue. If the country was favourable for the expedition, he was to proceed to Kandy with some Malays now stationed at Batticaloa whom he was to select, and to be careful to pass through the Kandyan country "not as if he was making war." He was not to permit his followers to burn houses or to kill men, plunder property or commit any kind of violence. He was to keep them in ignorance of the exact object of the expedition for the present. The scheme, entrusted to such an agent, proved a failure. Within three months or so the Muhandiram had returned to Batticaloa, having done nothing beyond talking freely of the object of his journey—the very thing he had been cautioned not to do—so that the whole country side knew what he had come for and the King also. It was reported to D'Oyly on January 13th that the letter he had sent off on November 13th could not be delivered on account of the strict guard which was now kept over the captive.

On December 10th, another letter was despatched to him, with some chocolate, biscuits and 5 star pagodas. Two days later came news that the King had gone to his palace at Medamahanuwara in the Dumbura country about sixteen miles north-east of Kandy, and that before his departure "the English Major" had been brought into Kandy and was living at his old quarters near the new guard house at the bottom of Malabar Street. On January 8th, a packet of medicines from Dr. James Anderson, the chief medical officer, was despatched to him, also 10 gold mohurs. The medicines included "two bottles of pills and some cream of tartar," and were accompanied by directions.

On January 10th, 1812, a Moorman brought a letter from him addressed to Thoen, which had been miscarried, one to Governor Maitland\* (who had left the Island in March, 1811), one from Davie to his father and one from

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\* This letter is apparently not among those of Davie's letters which have been preserved, as it is not referred to by "Balkis," who seems to have had access to them.



Thoen to Government asking for 50 pagodas to pay Davie's debts. There was also a draft for 600 rix-dollars on Governor Maitland.\* The Moorman stated that he had seen these papers in the possession of Lala the trader five months ago from whom he had received them just before he had left Kandy. He was to cash the draft, which was in the name of a Chetty of Trincomalie who had escaped from Kandy, and to receive payment as Lala was indebted to him.

On January 14th, 1812, the news was that the unfortunate captive was again sick, had nearly lost his eyesight and had a bad swelling in his leg—no doubt the first symptoms of the dropsy from which he died. But on February 13th Puswelle sent a message to D'Oyly that owing to the care and attention and the medicines given him by his brother, the Maha Gabada Nilame, he had recovered. This was no doubt the occasion on which Thoen saw him for the first and last time during the course of their captivity. He says "Major Davy I only saw once, and that was about three years since when he was brought into Kandy very sick, and carried in a cloth by four Kandyans. I was not permitted to go near him, and he was carried up to the King's pleasure house, where he was then sitting." As Thoen dictated his story to the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the British forces in February, 1815, "about three years since" would bring us back just to the date of this illness. But the immediate cause of Davie's being brought into Kandy was the detection, for the second time, of letters of his on their way to Colombo, and we learn from Thoen that the three men who were seized with it were agents of his wife's, and according to him all three of them were put to death, "one of the men who informed against us was put upon the spit (impaled.)" According to the diary the man who was detected with the letters was one of the three servants allotted to Davie from the Gaba-

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\* The rix-dollar in Ceylon in 1812 was fixed at one shilling and nine pence. It was equal to 12 Ceylon fanams.

dawa, who had been with him when he was residing at Badulla from which it appears that Davie was at one time resident in the province of Uva. This man had ingratiated himself with the Maha Gabada Nilame. He was caught at Balane, the "Pass" or "guard"-house at the end of the Kandy plateau on the side facing towards Colombo, with a steep drop into the country of the "Four Korales." Three letters had been found on him, one from Davie, one from a Tamil—the trader Lala—and one from "the Dutchman who shot the Fiscal at Colombo," also 7 pagodas. In the use of this last description, the diary has thrown a new and unexpected light on a mysterious murder that was committed at Colombo nearly seven years before. On May 20th, 1805, Mr. Thomas Farrell, the "Sitting Magistrate" of Colombo—this was the quaint title, somewhat suggestive of productive poultry and of Red Indian chiefs—by which the minor judicial officers were designated during the first thirty years of British administration—was shot dead at ten o'clock at night as he sat in his easy chair in the balcony of his house facing the old Dutch burial ground in the "Pettah" of Colombo. The shot came from the burial ground, but nothing was seen of the assassin, and he was never brought to justice, though the Government offered a reward of 5,000 rix-dollars for his apprehension. Now the Dutch name for a Magistrate was "Fiscaal," and even to this day this is one of the names by which that functionary is known to the Sinhalese of the Southern part of the Island. The Magistrate is the "Fiscal," and the District Judge is the "Maha" (or great) "Fiscal." There can be no doubt that this Dutchman now resident in Kandy, was the assassin. He had fled there for sanctuary, but in the end Nemesis overtook him. According to one account he and Lala were beheaded and impaled at Ampitiya, the village at the head of the Kandy Lake, and this is probably true for there is no word of this Dutchman when "the fatal heights of Balane" were stormed and Kandy for the second time taken by the British forces three years later.



Thoen states that the "Bazar man," i.e., Lala, "was discovered and put to death." It seems that he had got Thoen to write for him a draft for 50 pagodas in Major Davie's name. Thoen "signed it, merely to satisfy the Bazar-man." It was Thoen who handed to Lala the "order from Major Davie on the Ceylon Government for 600 rix-dollars," and he applied to Government for the 50 pagodas to pay Major Davie's debts.

According to another account received by D'Oyly, the messenger and another person implicated were punished with the *wada bera* or "punishment drum," which means that they were crowned with blossoms of the "shoe-flower" (*nibiscus*), and whipped through the streets of Kandy to the accompaniment of tom-tom, which may have been but the preliminary to their execution.

There were half a dozen different accounts of what had happened to Davie on the discovery of this correspondence. According to one, he had at first refused to come when sent for—it is more likely that he was unable to walk owing to his illness. Fifty people had then been sent for him, and he had been brought in on a *messa*—Thoen says "carried in a cloth by four Kandyans," but one method of conveyance might easily be mistaken for the other. He had had a long audience with the King and had been detained at the palace. He had acknowledged that he had given the letter; he had sent it because "he was in such a dubious state, neither released nor put to death, and he expected some benefit from it." The King said he was very culpable for it. A variant was that Davie had denied all knowledge of the letter and upon examination it did not appear to have been written by him. The King asked him, says a third account of a Gilbertian character, whether he had given the letter, and he replied "Yes, I did so, because your people asked for it." The King thereupon observed to the "circle of ministers" around him that every one was naturally anxious for his own deliverance, and that the fault was not in him but in his own people who asked for the letter. The chiefs agreed and Davie was acquitted. One man

said that this interview had taken place on the dam of the new tank which the King was constructing, now the Kandy lake: another said that it took place at night. A headman reported that it was not the King who interrogated Davie, but "Katchi Dewiyo," alias Muttal Sami, the King sitting by. Thoen says that it took place in "the King's pleasure house," i.e., the building now known as "the Octagon." "The King was heard speaking very loud and angry," continues Thoen, "but whether to Major Davie or those with him we did not know: but he was carried to Malabar Street, where he was certainly taken good care of for 15 or 16 days." Davie was sick at the time and was lodged for one night (variant, "three days") at the Asgiriya monastery and then sent to a *pansala* in the forest which covers the hills at the back of the palace. These particulars D'Oyly learnt from the priest who had charged himself with Davie's rescue, who had heard them from a brother of the yellow robe, whose sister was mistress of one of the Malabar relatives of the royal family. After fifteen days at the *pansala* Davie had been taken to his old quarters in Malabar Street, and here he was at the beginning of April. A much stricter surveillance was now kept over him. The King had learnt that he could not trust the Kandyans in this matter. Thirty Madura people were on watch night and day, and three headmen whose ordinary duty it was to watch at the door of the King's bed-chamber, had to visit Davie every night and no one except Muttal Sami was allowed access to him.

A curious story was told the Collector on January 12th, 1812, by another of his monkish agents, viz., that Davie had kept the silk cloths and the 50 pagodas sent to him, but had returned the rest of the things—the medicine, 10 gold mohurs and 160 star pagodas. This seems to refer to medicines and money sent twelve days previously, of which particulars are not given. It is not clear from the diary whether Davie got back the rejected money and medicines. Notwithstanding this rebuff, D'Oyly sent further supplies to the fastidious



captive on March 15th. These consisted of small luxuries, to wit, "8 bottles of Madeira wine, 3 bottles of sugar candy," some sugar, tea, biscuits, dates and salt fish. He also sent two "nanquin pantaloons," and "2 white jackets." But, strange to say, on this and every other occasion when supplies were sent to him, the sandals or shoes or boots, without which Davie had said that he could not escape, were omitted. It appears that he was allowed by the King to receive provision and clothes but not letters. Possibly boots and other footwear were also forbidden.

When these articles were exhibited by the Puswelle Disawa to the King as a preliminary to their being handed over to Davie, that oriental edition of Henry VIII. remarked, that the dates were musty, and then proceeded to annex the dates, the salt fish and a bag containing three or four of the bottles of Madeira. The rest he kindly sent on to "the Gentleman." The episode would have suited the "Bab Ballads."<sup>\*</sup>

On June 13th D'Oyly was told that the King was going to Kurunegala, the chief town in "Seven Korales," lying north of the path between Kandy and Colombo, and that he was taking Davie with him. It was his intention—rather late in the day—to celebrate the festival of "Girding the State Sword," a ceremony corresponding to our Coronation, at Puttalam, a port on a lagoon about 80 miles north of Colombo, and the head-quarters of the salt supply of the Island. There was some imprudence in the publication of this programme, for Puttalam was not at this time in the King's possession but in that of the British, and the King was very anxious to obtain it in exchange for his captive, whom he wished, for this reason, to keep alive.

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<sup>\*</sup> Hugh Boyd says of his predecessor Rajadhi Raja Singha, "on the whole his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our Harry the Eighth" (*Embassy to Kandy*, p. 214). His dress would supply the necessary appearance of corpulency, which no doubt suggested the comparison, and this factor would be of equal prominence in the case of the last King also.

It is clear that up to this time and in fact for some months later, D'Oyly believed that he was still living, for he despatched a letter to him dated "May 6th, 1812," which ran "Lieutenant-General Brownrigg, the present Governor, holds you in Recollection, and will leave no means untried to procure your Release. How is your Health? Describe your Residence. Have you received any Articles sent to you about 3 weeks ago?" On June 30th, this letter was reported delivered. The messenger said that he had handed it to Davie at the village of Watapane in Dumbara where he was then residing. Davie had read it and put it under a mat with the pencil and paper, and said he would not send an answer then but hereafter. He was dressed in an old red coat and white trousers. This was about 20 to 30 days ago. But the Collector suspected this information to be false. He had, four days before he received it, despatched another letter to Davie, again inquiring as to the state of his health and the place of his residence. There was, however, no further news of him for three months and then came the tidings that he was removed to a village in Hewaheta within three or four miles of Kandy, that he had been attended there by native doctors sent out for the purpose, had recovered his health but was very thin. D'Oyly seems to have thought this news to be authentic.

But now there began to arrive numerous reports of his death which D'Oyly regarded as false. He had died at the village near Kandy, and his body was exceedingly swelled. No one was allowed to speak of his death. He had died at Ampitiya ten days before the commencement of the annual festival of the Sacred Tooth (which takes place usually towards the end of July or beginning of August). Then he had come to life and was again in Dumbara as late as September, and D'Oyly even received a letter purporting to be from him which was brought by a Buddhist priest but which D'Oyly suspected to be a bogus one. It was on China paper and was written in invisible ink. The priest explained that if the paper was "scorched by a Fire of Charcoal made with coconut



shell," it could be read, and he suggested that he himself should carry out the process. The Collector agreed and the priest returned with the letter in about three hours. It was "slightly scorched and had a writing in reddish characters," which had evidently been executed with lime juice. This read "I don't know who inquires of my Health.....(unintelligible).....but I is now very well and I resident in the town of Candy." The phraseology certainly does not sound like that of an Englishman, and D'Oyly's suspicion was probably correct.

To satisfy himself he forwarded, on October 23rd, a letter to Thoen inquiring as to Davie's health and present residence, but there is no note in the diary of his having received a reply from him. Three days after the despatch of this letter there was another report of Davie's death. He had died at Kandy thirty days after he had been brought in there and his body had been removed, no one knew whither. It was forbidden to speak of him. But within a week came news that he was in the Matale district north of Kandy. Next he turns up in Kandy itself, very much alive going out on the lake in a canoe and firing pistols from it for the King's amusement. He was soon back at his old village of Gomagoda, whence he was removed to Peradeniya or Kandy from which being sick, he was again removed, no one knew where, but it was supposed to the borders of Uva. Finally there came a report that he had died of dysentery in the garden of Muttal Sami in July (1812), and had been buried in the forest behind the palace. The King had forbidden anyone to speak of him, on pain of having his tongue cut out.

D'Oyly immediately took steps to inquire into the truth of this last report. The result was that it was contradicted, and it was stated that Davie was still sick at Migon Arambe, with swellings and pains in the arms and legs, and fever, and on March 20th, 1813, came news of his death. He had been living near the *bo* tree in Muttal Sami's garden and had died fifteen days before the messenger left Kandy.

These two last reports are probably correct: the symptoms described in the first correspond with those of dropsy, the disease of which he died, and the date in the second agrees with the date which as we shall now show, was most likely the actual date of his death, though hitherto most writers who have concerned themselves with the subject, have fixed it as having occurred in 1812.

To ascertain exactly when it happened inquiries were instituted within a year of the capture of Kandy, and the result, recorded in the Colombo Secretariat, was that "he died in the Cinghalese Month Mandig of the Gentoo-Year Angura.....about 35 months previous to.....the 23rd of January, 1816, which was the day on which some of the Malabar Princes, relatives of the King, were questioned about it. Now the Gentoo or Hindu year "Angura" is 1812-3, the year everywhere in India and Ceylon beginning in April. The Sinhalese month "Mandig" (*Medindina*) is the period from the middle of February to the middle of March. Therefore the date of Davie's death would be February-March, and the year 1813 and not 1812, remembering that the year began in April, "35 months previous to January 23rd, 1816," would make it the first week in March, as the Sinhalese year begins on the 11th-13th of the month.

It seems likely, therefore, from this record and from the diary that the actual date was February-March, 1813.

The whole affair was hushed up by the King, who had false rumours circulated to keep up the idea that his captive was still alive, and D'Oyly received accounts of his alleged doings even after March, 1813.

The house in Malabar Street which was occupied by Davie was pointed out to Captain De Bussche, Governor Brownrigg's A.D.C., in 1815. He states that "his remains were deposited at a short distance from the town .....on the south side of the upper lake in an isolated valley.....and a monument is to be erected to his memory." This has never been done, and his only memorial is "Davie's tree," *rediviva*, with the stone at the foot of the hillock the original tree surmounted—now



a rubber plantation. The "upper lake" is the present lake, and the south side of it is the side on which stands the Malwatta monastery, where also was situated that "Arekanut Grove of the Buffaloes," where Davie had spent so many weary days.

In course of time various Davie myths, reminding us of the Hector Macdonald myths of a few years ago, got into circulation. A correspondent of the *The Ceylon Observer* in the issue of April 22nd, 1844, describes how at the summit of a pass half way between Kurunegala and Matale, he met Major Davie's servant, a Mahratta man who had been his "dressing boy," and who had been spared with his master. According to this man, who evidently possessed a fertile imagination and realized that he had struck a good medium for the propagation of romance, Major Davie lived for fourteen years after his capture in the principality of Uva, and then committed suicide by shooting himself with a pistol,—because the Governor had discovered his existence there and had sent for him!—"he was at the time sick in body and heart." He had been sent to Uva lest he should escape. He was allowed a retinue of fan-bearers, etc., and it was ordered that respect should be paid to him; he let his beard grow and lived like a native; he had children now alive at Badulla, the chief town of Uva; he was ashamed and afraid to make himself known; he had forgotten English so that he was unable to speak it fluently, and suffered from very bad health and latterly became very despondent. "His remains lie in Oovah covered with a carved slab of stone. The Governor offered to educate and protect his children, but their Sinhalese relatives would not allow their removal. Major Davie was very amiable in temper and disposition—was idolized by the Sinhalese and all who knew him.

There is no need, however, to reject the whole of this story, or to conclude that the man was altogether an impostor. One can only regret that further inquiries were not made about him at the time. Possibly he was the same Malabar servant who had been dismissed for

insolence to his master, which would account for a great part of his story being manifestly false, as it was based merely on hearsay, rendered all the more untrustworthy from the lapse of over thirty years. But some of his statements were probably founded on fact—for instance, those as to Davie's health, his appearance, his disposition, his evident desire not to return to the society of his own countrymen, his residence for a time in Uva, the consideration and respect with which he was treated, his popularity with the Kandians and the despondency of his later days. There is corroboration to a certain extent of another. He had been allotted by the King a woman of low caste, and by her he had a son, who, in April, 1819, when Sir Robert Brownrigg paid his second visit to Kandy, was brought by his mother before the Governor, who ordered that he should be sent to school at Colombo. When he had finished his education there, he was given employment under Government at Kandy. He ran away but was once more given Government employment this time at Colombo, as the Kandian chiefs objected to standing while he was seated in their presence on an office stool. Anyone who knows the Kandians will recognize the inherent probability of this incident. That he was befriended by Sir Robert Brownrigg is related in the "Government Gazette," also that when Sir John D'Oyly died at Kandy in 1824, among other recipients of the bounty of the distinguished civilian who had done so much for his father was "the natural son of Major Davie."

We cannot agree that "his captivity was probably harder, and certainly more hopeless, than Slatin's.\*" On the contrary, he had quite an easy time in his sojourn in the pleasant land of Kandy, and to a man of action, escape would have been easy. He was allowed a certain degree of liberty, could receive provisions, clothes and money from his English friends, was supplied with a house,

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\* "A Forgotten Tragedy," "Cornhill Magazine," 64, October 1st, 1909.



servants, doctors and a wife, and even given a position of some importance and dignity.\* He was in fact, a veritable Lotus Eater, and had no wish to escape—he was probably treated with greater respect and consideration than he would have received from the Colombo garrison. No doubt he endured minor hardships such as are incidental to the life of a captive in a strange land, and he suffered much from constant illness. His frequent journeys from the Dumbara villages into Kandy and back made, as they must have been on foot, were probably rather trying. We can picture to ourselves the sorry figure of the *quondam* British officer, with his long and unmilitary beard, clad in his old and faded scarlet tunic and frayed white “nanquin pantaloons,” toiling bare-foot—without even those sandals which he considered a bare necessity—up and down the Kandyan hills in wet weather often slippery and infested with land leeches, and across the muddy and narrow ridges of the rice fields. Doubtless his attendants, with Kandyan courtesy, held over his head the leaf of the *talipot* palm which would be some protection from sun and rain, but he can never have been quite at his ease or looked dignified, and he is not likely to have paid much attention to the beauty of the scenery around him, where

“through mountain clefts the dale

Was seen far inland, and the yellow down,

Bordered with palms, and many a winding vale.”

One thing was spared him. In his journeys to Kandy the ferry he had to cross was not the “Old Village-ferry” which was the scene of the massacre of his troops, and where a year later Captain Johnston on his gallant but futile expedition to Kandy from Trincomalie, saw their

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\* Thoen says in his “Narrative” “I understand from every one that Major Davy had received some valuable presents from the King, consisting of silver plates, gold and silver chains, a silver-hilted sword, different brass articles, etc. The King, it was said, also gave his three servants, natives of Domburah, where Major Davy always resided, and allotted two women at different times but he never co-habited with them, spoke to them, nor even allowed them to enter his house. In this last statement, however, Thoen was not quite accurate.

whitening bones. The path that Davie used was not the old road to Matale, close to which they were butchered. He would cross the river two miles further down, by the Lewella ferry, which would bring him within a mile and a half of the capital. Strange to say, the name of this ferry too might serve to commemorate another tragedy, also altogether forgotten, for it seems to mean "sand of blood." But, after all, it may merely refer to the appearance of the sands there, and one "Tragedy of the Ferry," not quite "A Forgotten Tragedy," is enough.

J. P. LEWIS.

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#### APPENDIX A.

It is desirable that there should be some record of what this historic tree was like. An illustration of it appeared in the "Illustrated London News" of 17th August, 1850; so far as I am aware, the only one ever published up to the present. In my possession are two pencil sketches made by the late J. L. K. Vandort in the same year, 1850, of which, as they are somewhat blurred and creased, I have made pen-and-ink copies, here reproduced. With them may be compared a very rough sketch made by myself in 1888, which at least serves to show what little change the lapse of more than half a century had made in the appearance of the tree. On one of Mr. Vandort's sketches, under a belt of corpse or jungle in the foreground, is written in his handwriting, "Where Corpl. McDermott is said to have hid himself." This may represent a local tradition current at the time he made the sketch, but now vanished. "McDermott" must be a mistake of his for "Barnsley," as I never heard of the escape of a Corporal of that name as well as that of Corporal Barnsley.

The tree stood in the village of Mawilmadu, which adjoins Watapuluwa, but the latter village, under various quaint disguises of its name such as "Waterpologa," "Wallapolloa" (Cordiner) has always been



associated with it by English writers. The scene of the massacre is known to the villagers as "Wagolla kerella." The man who helped Barnsley to escape was Pallegedara alias Polgollegedera Kawrala. When I was Government Agent of the Central Province (1906-1910), a grand son of his named Polgollegedera Ukkurala of Kahalla, where the family had not a very good reputation, was living, applied for some favour from Government as a recognition of this deed of his ancestor's. The incident, I found, was generally known by tradition among the people of the neighbourhood. The story as related by Ukkurala was that Kawrala was out fishing in the Mahaweliganga after dark on account of an order of the King prohibiting fishing in the river on pain of death and discovered an exhausted British soldier on the bank "with his ears cut off," the usual way of punishing rebels, who asked him "the road to Trincomalie." Kawrala took him to a *pela* (hut) on his threshing floor, gave him rice and a cloth and conducted him during the night through Talawinna and Doranagama to the Etgala road where it falls into the Matale-Trincomalie road and left him there.

The road from Matale *via* Etgala to Kandy comes out on the bank of the river exactly opposite "Davie's tree" at the abandoned ferry of Paranagantota. Half a mile further up the river is Alutgantota ferry, which succeeded it, but was superseded by the Katugastota bridge in 1860.

#### APPENDIX B.

"Balkis" speaks of the astuteness of the First Adigar, and of his skill as a statesman and diplomatist. In the diary he hardly appears in this light. He was evidently looked upon by the Kandyan people as their chief protector against the oppressions of the King. In his messages to D'Oyly he shows himself in the character of a devotee of his religion, which he certainly was; he had in 1801 built the "New Wihara" (image house)

at the Asgiriya Monastery. He seems, too, to have been a man of wider views than the King. He had some opinions and a moral communicated to D'Oyly a few days later: "He did not think either the King or the English had acted very wisely. The English had conquered Puttalam and other countries. Is it likely they will give it up? If the King were sensible he would not persist in demanding it. The English gentleman would be given up. Ambassadors would be sent from Kandy to to Colombo and from Colombo to Kandy. The English had not prevented the King from communicating with the French and Dutch, which was done regularly through some Tamil people at Puttalam, who took advantage of the fact that the English Disawa at that place was not a man of sense, and was not aware of these communications. If D'Oyly were wise he would not send any more letters but only verbal messages. He wished to tell him of one method by which he might subdue and keep possession of Kandy, and that was "by rendering Worship and Honour to the Four Temples. Thus the *belyma*\* of the Gods will be over us. But as some of the Temples are dishonoured by killing cattle and other Pollutions, the Gods become incensed and sickness seizes the people." From which it would seem that the First Adigar was more of a Buddhist than a patriot and withal somewhat simpleminded or was adopting the role of a simpleton, to send this advice to a British official. But this perhaps was a specimen of his artfulness. "Balkis" remarks that he was "a great artist." Or may we be permitted to ask whether the Kandy massacres were really due to the Adigar; whether they were not in fact the acts of the King himself? D'Oyly does not seem, judging from his dealing with the Adigar, to have regarded him as chiefly responsible for them. The King next year shewed what he was capable of in this way in his treatment of the family of Ehelapola, the successor of Pilama Talawwe as First

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\* Regard literally "looking at."



Adigar when he, like his predecessor, began to intrigue with the British Government. The story of their cruel deaths, suffered under the direct orders of the King himself, is still remembered as it was at the time detested by the Kandyan people, and may be seen depicted on the brass trays sold at the present day to visitors to the last seat of the Sinhalese monarchy. Dr. John Davy's\* account of the massacre also lends support to the view that it was the King and not the Adigar who was responsible for it. He says:—

“The Minister objected to the order remarking, ‘It is highly improper for those who have submitted to be put to death.’ ‘What! (said the enraged King), are you siding with the English again?’ The Minister then left the royal presence, observing, ‘Since he urges the measure, what can we do?’ He made another attempt to dissuade the King by means of a favourite who went in and represented the impropriety of such proceedings. On this second application the King became furious, and starting from his seat, cried aloud, ‘Why am I not obeyed?’ The order now was too soon obeyed,” (p. 314).

Dr. Nell then read the following contribution from Mr. T. B. Keppetipola, Attapattu Muhandiram Nilame.

The messenger villages of “Patte” people, Katupulle villages, were: For Pallegampaha, Ampitiya, Dehideniya, Mawilmadu, Owissa and Alutgama, for Udagampaha, Peradeniya, Kotmale, Pussellawa, Mulgampola, Bowela, Dodanwela (Nuwara) and Tumpane.

The ferry is at Watapahuwa, Davie's tree is in Mawilmadu.

The terms Paranagantota for Watapulva ferry and Alutgantota for Katugastota ferry are still in use.

There can still be seen in Mawilmadu, the larger flat stone elevated on lesser ones mentioned by Mrs. Heber in her diary 1825.

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\* This was John Badger, Ceylon Civil Service 1805-1818, who was Collector, Chilaw, 1809-1814. He died, 29th April, 1918, at Panadure.

Wagolla is now planted with rubber and cocoa; it is a flat piece of land in Mawilmadu, on which grew Waya trees.

Maha Gabada Nilame was Pilima Talawwe; Udagabada Nilame was Dehigama Pilima Talawwe, held 17 other appointments, he was the first Adigar, Pallegampaha, Maha Adikaram Manthriswaranwahanse, also known as Agra Senadhipathi, and to the rural folk as "Deveni Rajjuruwo." Unambuwe was second Adigar, i.e., Udagampaha Adikaram, the 3rd Adigar was Dullewe (Sivapattuwe Maha Nilame). Later in 1812, Ehelopla was first Adigar. Hurikaduwa and Napane are in Udagampaha Korle in Pata Dumbara, 8 or 9 miles from Kandy (Katugastota-Teldeniya road).

Gomagoda is in Palispattu West Korle in Pata Dumbara; Talawinne in Pallegampaha Korle, Etgala Road, Kandy-Elkaduwa-Ukuwela-Matale.

5. Mr. D. P. E. Hettiarachi read the following remarks relating to the Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment.

All accounts on the massacre of Major Adam Davie's detachment at Watapuluwa (Kandy) in 1803, showed that the work of destruction was accomplished with celerity and expedition, and perhaps with less horror than Napoleon butchered 1,200 Turks after taking Jaffa.\* In this "atrocious art of perfidy" the vilest part was played by Kaffirs in the employ of Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha, "who were inured by practice, to perform cruel executions, which were certainly repugnant to the Sinhalese character and Buddhist religion."

The publication in the R.A.S., C.B. Journal No. 71 for 1918 of Dutch Assistant Surgeon Greeving's Diary—one of the most authentic narratives relating to the massacre—seems to be an opportune occasion to bring to light particulars of interest hitherto forgotten, concerning

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\* *Marshall's conquest of Kandy*, p. 111.



the Chief Executioner of Davie's party, Joseph Fernando.\* Faithful reproduction of the sketch of this Kaffir engraved on satinwood by a native artist named Juan Silva is annexed to this note. Joseph Fernando lived in Kandy till the year 1848.† His residence was a snug and clean house near an arrack shop which he frequently patronized. He was able to speak in Portuguese and was intimately known to Rev. Mr. Reinaud, a Roman Catholic Priest.

Through an Interpreter Joseph was interviewed by "a late resident of Kandy" (*vide* Note 2) on the 9th of April, 1848, and the following hurried replies are recorded to have been received by him:—

"I am 90 years of age. I cannot speak English. I came to Ceylon from Mauritius. Came as a servant to Mr. Bellicombe on a French ship, in the Dutch time. I have been 50 years in Kandy. I was once a very strong man. I get six shillings a month as pension from the British Government, and being well known many people assist me. I have been 20 years in my present house. I first went to Trincomalie, then accompanied some Moor merchants from that place to Matale and then ran away to Kandy. Raja Singha was then King. I went to the chief Adigar‡ and said I had nothing to gain my living. He brought me before Raja Singha who ordered that I should enter his Kaffir and Malay Regiment. I got clothes and food and 5 *ridies* per month (equal to about 3s. 4d. per month). When Muttu (Budda) Samy| went to Colombo to show General Macdowal the road to

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\* A graphic description with a portrait of this man by 'a late resident of Kandy' appears in the 'Colombo Observer' of 17th October, 1848, from which I have gathered materials for this note.

† Mr. J. B. Siebel in his "*Notes on Kandy*," states, that in the fifties there was a very old kaffir named Thomas, who dragged himself along the streets of Kandy on crutches and begged for alms and who, when given a few coppers, put himself into a fighting attitude shouldered his crutch and described with much gesticulation how he cut down the poor soldiers near the Poranagantota Ferry.

‡ Pilime Taliwwe.

| Brother-in-law of Rajadi Rajasinha. He was put on the throne by Governor North and was executed by Sri Wikrama Rajasinha in 1803.

Kandy, I was with the King Raja Singha at Hanguranketa. General Macdowal, Colonel Barbut and Major Davie came to Kandy with other officers. The Kandyans attacked Major Davie's detachment, about 250 or 300 soldiers were in Kandy, about 20 or 30 were sick of fever. The detachment left their arms\* in Kandy and walked out to the Mahaweli Ganga. They were then separated, and killed in parties of 5 or 8.† They were struck with clubs—knives were not used.‡ I prayed to Jesus Christ because I was a Christian and because they were Christians, and then they were killed by blows on the head as they sat down; and we were sure that they had no knives on their persons. They did not offer any resistance.¶ Major Davie and two other officers lived some time in Hanguranketa—had severe fever—the officers died§—Davie then went to Dumbara—He went about without shoes, without hat, or trousers—very thin—very sick—and very sorrowful.\*\* The people laughed at him because he had the Malabar itch. He died and his house was empty.†† He had a

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\* Dutch assistant Surgeon Greeving states that the Adigar insisted that the garrison should not take with them 'a single cartridge, nor a grain of gun-powder.'—C.B., R.A.S. Journal, No. 71, p. 170.

† The interviewer adds that he could not get Joseph to confess that he had with his own hands felled the poor English soldiers, though he admitted the notorious fact in an indirect manner. On several occasions Joseph is said to have uttered in Sinhalese "*Mokada koranne? Rajjuruwo kiapiheti korangaone.*" = "What can I do? What the king says must be obeyed."

‡ Most authoritative account of Marshall shows that "they were put to death, mostly with the butt-end of a musket or large club."—p. 103.

§ Here Joseph "gave a look of helplessness and turned up his hands and shrugged his shoulders, conveying an idea of utter despair, and mental prostration, and sobbed aloud."

§ Captain Humpherys of the Bengal Artillery and Captain Rumley of the Malay Regiment.

\*\* "January 29, 1811—Major Davie was still alive and well in Dumbara, was supplied with victuals and clothes such as we wear, but had no shoes or stockings."—*D'Oyly's Diary*, C.B. R.A.S.J., No. 69, p. 57.

†† Muttal Samy, first cousin of Sri Wickrama, took possession of all his property.—*See Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V., Part IV., p. 170.



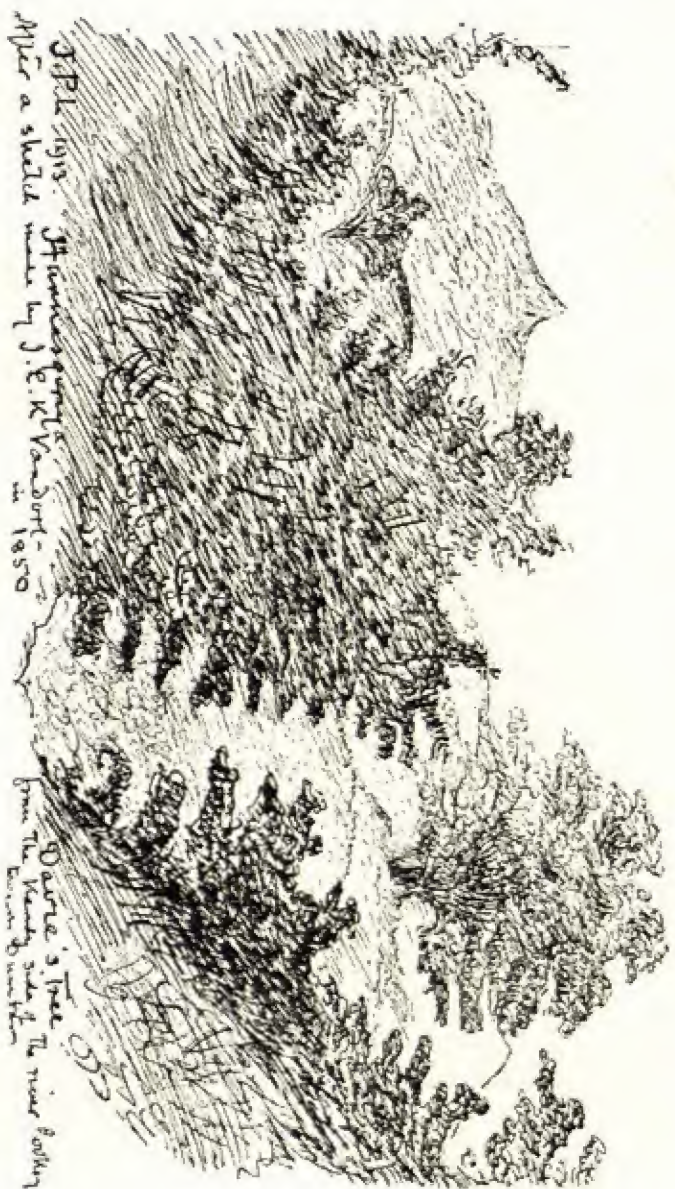


PLATE I

JPL  
1914

Davie's Tree.  
from the river bank

where Capt. J. M. Dermott is  
said to have been buried

After a fence placed by  
J. L. K. Vandover, 1850







J.P.L.

Davies Tree in 1888.

same view as No 2 but from nearer point.

or

PLATE III



PLATE IV





PLATE V



Joseph Fernando

PLATE VI

The Executioner of Major Davie's  
Detachment.



house on the south side of the lake. He was burned there amongst the coconut trees near Captain Bird's\* house. Major Davie had a son; what became of him I do not know."

The foregoing details of the sad end of Major Davie have an air of truth, and it is a matter for regret that more particulars about him were not sought for. However, it is most interesting to note that Joseph Fernando bears out not only Captain de Bussche's statement that "Davie's remains were deposited at a short distance from the town of Kandy on the south of the upper lake in an isolated valley,"† but also Mr. J. P. Lewis' observations that "his remains lie in the Migon-Arambe or somewhere close to it in the south side of the present Kandy lake."

6. A discussion on the paper followed in which Mudaliyar Walter Samarasingha, Messrs. C. H. Collins, F. Lewis and the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera took part.

7. Votes of thanks to Dr. Nell for reading the paper proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and to the Chair proposed by Sir P. Arunachalam were carried with acclamation.

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\* Perhaps the reference here is to "Horambe House." According to Ceylon Almanacs there was in Kandy from 1840-1845 a Lieut. H. Bird, of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, who was Dept. Assistant Commissary there.

† *Letters on Ceylon*, p. 84.

‡ *Tombstone and Monuments of Ceylon*, p. 431.

## NOTES ON THE FORTS OF THE JAFFNA ISLANDS

BY

JOSEPH PEARSON, D.Sc., F.R.S. (EDIN.), F.L.S.,

*Vice-President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic  
Society.*

### (a) THE PORTUGUESE FORT AT DELFT (*Plates 1-9*).

I have had the opportunity of paying two visits to Delft Island—the first in April, 1912, when I stayed several days, mainly for the purpose of examining the coral reefs of the neighbourhood; the second in September, 1920, during the visit of the trawler "*Lilla*" to the Palk Strait in connection with the marine biological survey of the littoral waters of Ceylon.

On my first visit I made careful measurements and drawings of the old Fort and took some photographs in ignorance of the fact that Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G. had already given a description of the fort, with plans and illustrations, in his interesting "*Notes on Delft*" published in the Society's Journal.\* As my interpretations did not altogether agree with previous accounts of the fort, I decided to revise and confirm all the work I had already done when the opportunity of a second visit to Delft presented itself, and in this note I have given a more detailed account of the structure of the fort and have offered one or two criticisms of the work of previous observers.

During the course of the research I decided to make a reconstructed model of the fort and this has been done by Mr. C. C. Solomons of the Colombo Museum under

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\*Journal C.B.R.A.S., 1909, Vol. XXI., pp. 341—359.



my immediate supervision. This is sufficiently instructive to justify my including some photographs of the model in the present paper. (See Plates iii.—vii.).

The fort at present would appear to be in much the same condition as when examined by Mr. Lewis twenty years ago and by "Penn," the writer in the *Colombo Journal*\*, ninety years ago. The southern face is the most perfect and here the roof line is clearly marked at a height of nearly thirty feet above the ground level, but no sign of a roof is to be seen. The northern and eastern faces are very dilapidated but there is sufficient to enable one, after careful examination, to reconstruct the whole building.

Roughly speaking, the fort consists of a rectangle 73 feet long (omitting the buttresses) on the southern side, and a square with a 40-foot side to the north. The southern rectangle is strengthened by a continuous buttress which reaches as high as the first floor, and which is 5 feet thick at the ground level for the greater part of its length, and as much as 10 feet in thickness on the east side. Most of the walls are double as far as the level of the first floor, but single in the upper storey. This is quite clearly seen from a comparison of the two plans. (Plates i. and ii.). In the plan of the upper storey the walls D. E, F. G. H and J only extend as far as the floor, the walls of the upper storey being coloured black in that plan.

There are six rooms on the ground floor. The square at the south-west corner is filled with earth as far as the level of the first floor, and I have no doubt that there was never a room on the ground floor in this position. The six rooms are arranged in couples, each pair having one entrance from the outside. Rooms 1 and 2 (see Plate i.) are not connected by a door, but by an opening half way up the wall. Rooms 3 and 4 are connected by a door and likewise rooms 5 and 6. There are no windows in any of the rooms of the ground floor.

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\* Colombo Journal, February 25th, 1832.

In the upper storey there are also six rooms and there are two entrances—one by staircase A to room No. 12 (see plan of upper storey) and the other by staircase B which gives entrance to the other five rooms. A staircase (C) leads from room 12 to the roof, passing through the thickness of the walls in its upper portion. My opinion is that this staircase opened directly out of room 12 and was not separated from it by a wall. Room 12 is immediately over rooms 5 and 6, and also has the additional space provided by the inner walls of those rooms only reaching as high as the first floor. Room 12 has two windows, one on the southern and the other on the eastern wall. Room No. 8 may be regarded as the ante-chamber of the upper story, as it is connected directly or indirectly with all the rooms except No. 12. It is furnished with one window. Opening out of it to the north is room 7 which was undoubtedly a lavatory. This room contains one small window. Room 11 also opens out of the ante-chamber and has one window and is in turn connected with room 10. This latter room must have had a window, but the masonry is so dilapidated that it is impossible to say where the window was situated. I have placed it in the east wall, both in the model and plan. Undoubtedly the principal room of the fort was No. 9, which opens out of the ante-chamber and has two fine windows looking south and west.

The account given by "Penn" in the *Colombo Journal* of 1832 is incorrect in some respects. For instance, that writer said there were five rooms in the upper storey of the northern square. There are only four. He referred to the lower rooms of the northern square as vaults "for they must have been extremely dark, from the total want of windows or doors, being only entered from above." It is true they had no windows, but they were all connected with the exterior directly or indirectly, by doors, as is clearly shown in the two plans. In Plate ix. the entrance to room 4 is plainly seen. There is no evidence to show that these rooms were entered from above. It seems quite clear that the



arrangement of the ground floor was much more obscured in "Penn's" days than at the present time. All the three entrances on the ground floor escaped him and he said "there have been two entrances to the building" clearly referring to the two staircases A and B.

The plans accompanying Mr. Lewis' note are not quite correct. The staircase A is not shown and he wrote "that the flight of stone steps have disappeared." The lower steps have since been excavated and are clearly present in both staircases A and B (see Plate 8). His plan does not show the door leading into room 4 nor the door connecting rooms 3 and 4. On the other hand his plan shows a door between rooms 2 and 4 which is incorrect. It is only fair to say that Mr. Lewis did not make the plans himself, and there can be no doubt that such a keen observer as Mr. Lewis would have given a very accurate account of the fort if he had had the time to spend on excavation. Doubtless the ruins have been considerably cleared since Mr. Lewis' time. I myself had a considerable amount of "rubbish" cleared in 1912 in order to expose the ground floor more clearly. Mr. J. N. Sandarasegara, Maniagar of Delft at that time, gave very valuable assistance both in excavation work and also in supplying me with certain measurements which I omitted to make on my first visit.

(b) URUNDIKOTTE OR KAYTS FORT (*Plates 10—11*).

About half a mile or so west of Kayts and facing the well known Fort of Hammenhiel are to be found the ruins of a Portuguese fort which for some reason have not received the attention they undoubtedly merit. The references to this fort in the literature are few and scanty. According to Baldaeus the fort was in ruins at the time the Dutch conquered Jaffna in 1658, and it is probably owing to this fact and also to the proximity of the well-preserved fort of Hammenhiel that writers on the Jaffna district have either ignored it or have dismissed it with a word. Dr. P. E. Pieris in a note on "O Floral de

Jafanapatam"\* stated that "two garrisons were maintained in the North, one at Jaffna and the other at Kayts, amounting to four companies of fifty men each, with the usual complement of officers, while eighty lascarines and four Arachchis formed the Captain-Major's guard." In the maps of the Jaffna islands Baldæus shows the "Oude" Fort near Kayts, but the position is vague and may or may not refer to the fort known by the Kayts villagers as *Urundikotte*. A writer in the *Ceylon Literary Register*† spoke of the ruins as follows:—"It was evidently a small square fort with a bastion at each corner and a half moon bastion or semilunar bastion on the land side. It has the appearance of having been blown up by gunpowder." Mr. J. P. Lewis‡ refers to the name *Urundi* which he took to mean "(the place where) the village used to be." I learned at Kayts that *Urundi* referred to the rounded southern face of the fort and this interpretation was also suggested independently by the President of the C.B., R.A.S., Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, when I showed the model at a meeting of the Society. *Urundikotte* may, therefore, be taken to mean "The Round Fort." The fort was visited by "Penn," who wrote an account in the *Colombo Journal* of 8th February, 1832. According to him this fort was called Fort Erie.¶ In describing the ruins he writes "enough remains to show it was a square of about 130 ft. with four circular bastions having walls of great thickness, bomb proof in various places and gateways in the east and west curtains. The sea washed the north face, the remains of a glacis are visible to the west and commanding the plain to the rear." Further on he refers to the fort as "but a green mound and shattered ruin." In passing, it may be said that Mr. Lewis has stated on at least two

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\* Journal C.B., R.A.S., Vol. XXVI., No. 70, Part II., 1917, pp. 105-109.

† Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. I., Nos. 3-6.

‡ Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II., Part II., p. 94. Some notes on archaeological matters in the Northern Province.

¶ See note at the end of the paper.



occasions that he is inclined to identify "Penn" with Simon Casie Chetty, the compiler of the *Ceylon Gazetteer*. There are, however, several articles by "Penn" in the *Colombo Journal* which seem to indicate that he was an Englishman. I am strongly of opinion, from a careful perusal of "Penn's" writings, that he could not have been Simon Casie Chetty.

This fort at the present day is a very dilapidated ruin, and it was only with great difficulty that I was able to make out the ground plan. "Penn's" description of "a square of about 130 feet with four circular bastions" gives no idea of the real shape and proportions. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the fort is horse-shoe shaped with the convexity facing landwards to the south. The two horns of the horse-shoe form two bastions jutting out northwards into the sea, and these two bastions are joined by a curtain which is washed by the sea. (See Plate x.). The length of the fort is 274 feet to the northern wall joining the bastions. The extreme width is 206 feet. The outer wall of the horse-shoe is 19 feet in thickness and encloses two well defined rectangles, the northern one of which is 116 feet long by 95 feet wide and which undoubtedly acted as a courtyard. The southern portion of the fort was occupied by the residences of the garrison, arranged on three sides of the southern rectangle, which doubtless formed an open courtyard devoted to the more peaceful avocations of the garrison. In all there are ten rooms opening on to this southern courtyard, the dimensions of which are 91 feet by 83 feet.

The northern portion of the fort has outer and inner ramparts, both on the eastern and western sides, separated from each other by an open space 13 feet wide and 150 feet long. The inner wall is extremely interesting as an arched passage runs around it on the outer side, supported at intervals by internal buttresses which project into the passage, thus dividing it into a number of compartments. This doubtless is the bomb-proof portion referred to by

"Penn." There are two such passages, one on the east and one on the west side, and each passage has six buttresses. The function of these passages is difficult to determine and I was not able to discover how they were connected with the exterior. The inner wall is perfect in some parts and shows that there was a low parapet on the outer edge. On the western wall a gun emplacement is clearly shown, and there are also two openings on the eastern wall which were probably for guns. On the east side of the northern courtyard there is a vaulted chamber. Mr. Lewis refers to this as follows\* :—"There is a vaulted chamber on the east side of the fort, with the greater part of the roof intact, but on this last occasion an *itti* tree (*Ficus retusa*) had begun to twine its roots about the stone masonry of the roof, a circumstance which was ominous for its future." Time has justified Mr. Lewis' prognostications, as the whole of the roof has now collapsed, as can be clearly seen from Plate xii. The full height of the arch is 12 feet, the spring of the arch being 6 feet above the ground.

At the southern end of the chamber is a niche in the wall and there seems no doubt that the building functioned as a chapel. Two opening (doors or windows) are found in the west wall of this building and the northern end is completely open.

On the western side of the same courtyard there is short and steep inclined road leading from the ground level to the battlements. On the inner wall near this spot is a large stone with a deep square hole in the top. This may possibly have been the base for a flag-staff.

I am unable to explain the meaning of the structure of the wall separating the two courtyards. The top of the wall is divided transversely into small compartments as shown in the plan.

There is no sign of an entrance to the fort. A modern road, however, runs along the beach and a way has been cut through the ruins of the fort as shown in

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\* Ceylon Antiquary, *loc. cit.*



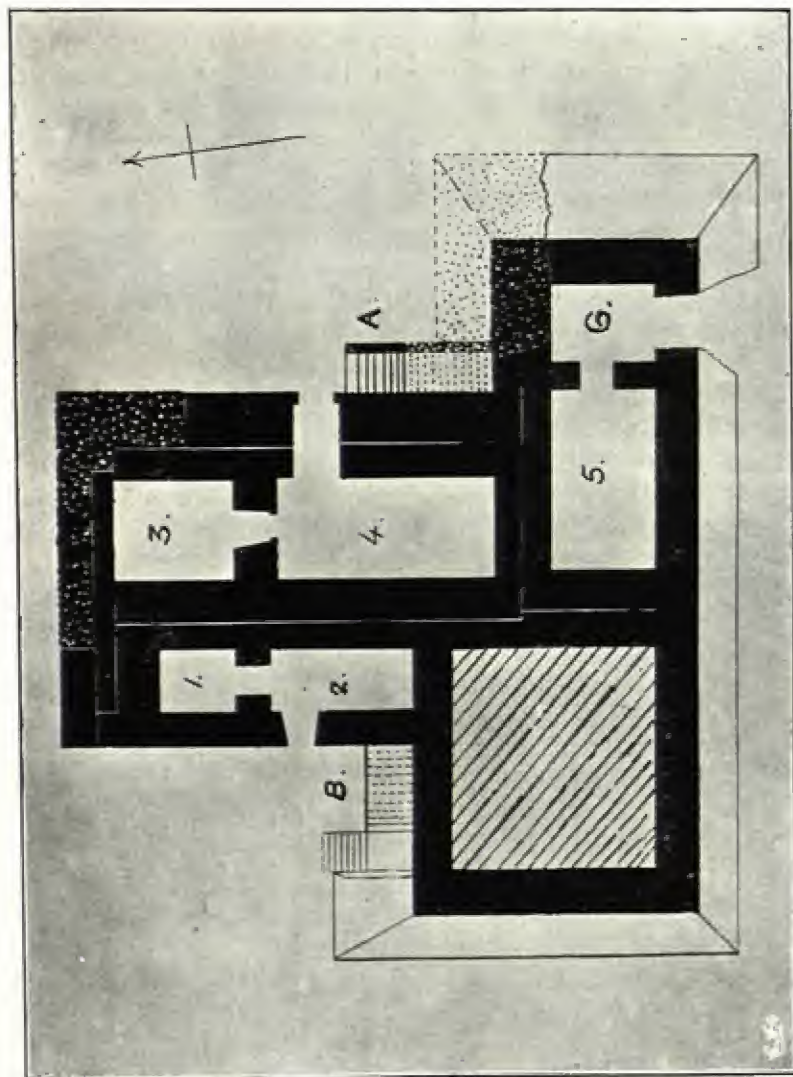


PLATE I.—GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF DELFT FORT.—Scale 1 inch = 21 feet.  
(The dotted portion represents the part that has disappeared).

*The steps A and B go from the ground floor to the first storey.  
The steps C go from the first storey to the roof.  
The walls D, E, F, G, H, and J, extend from the ground floor to the first storey.  
The other walls (coloured black) extend from the ground to the roof.*

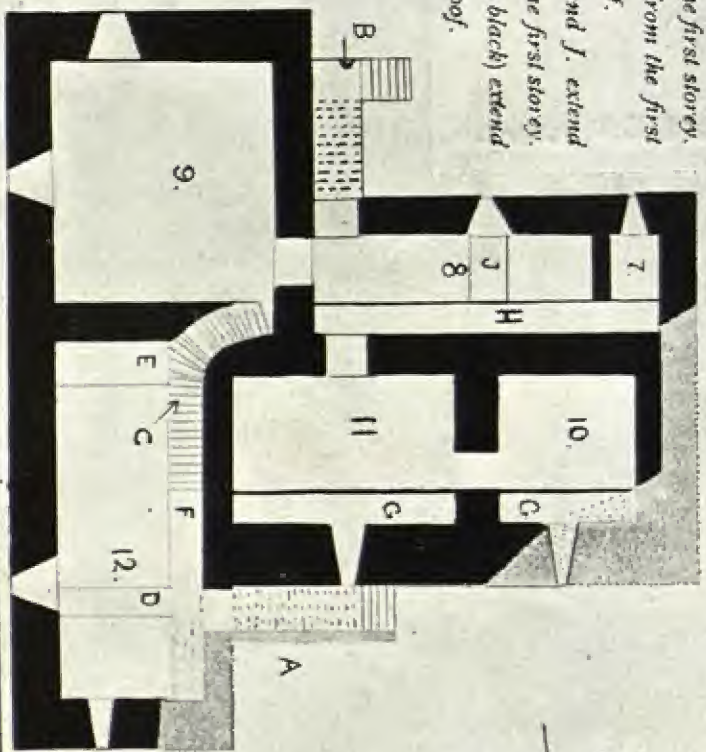


PLATE II.—DELF'T FORT.  
Plan of upper storey. 1 inch=21 feet.



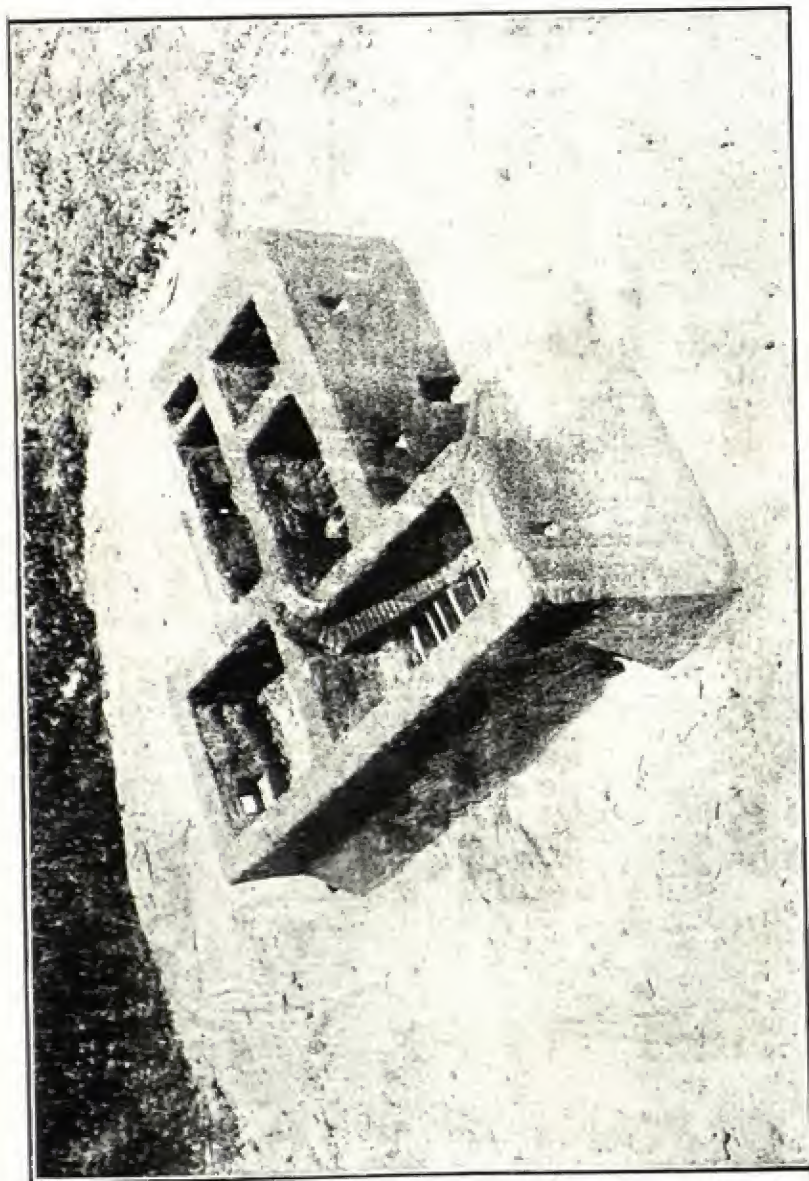
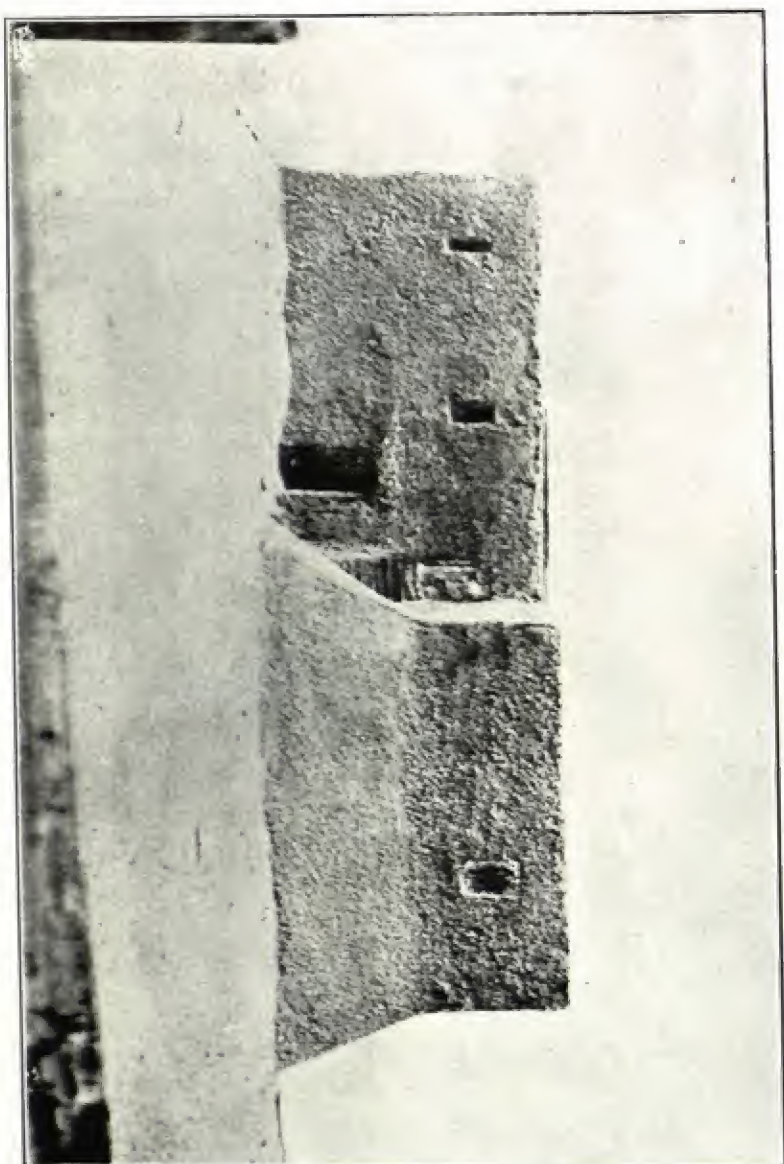


PLATE III.—DELFT FORT.

Bird's eye view of reconstructed model (without the roof.) From the south-east.

PLATE IV.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the west.





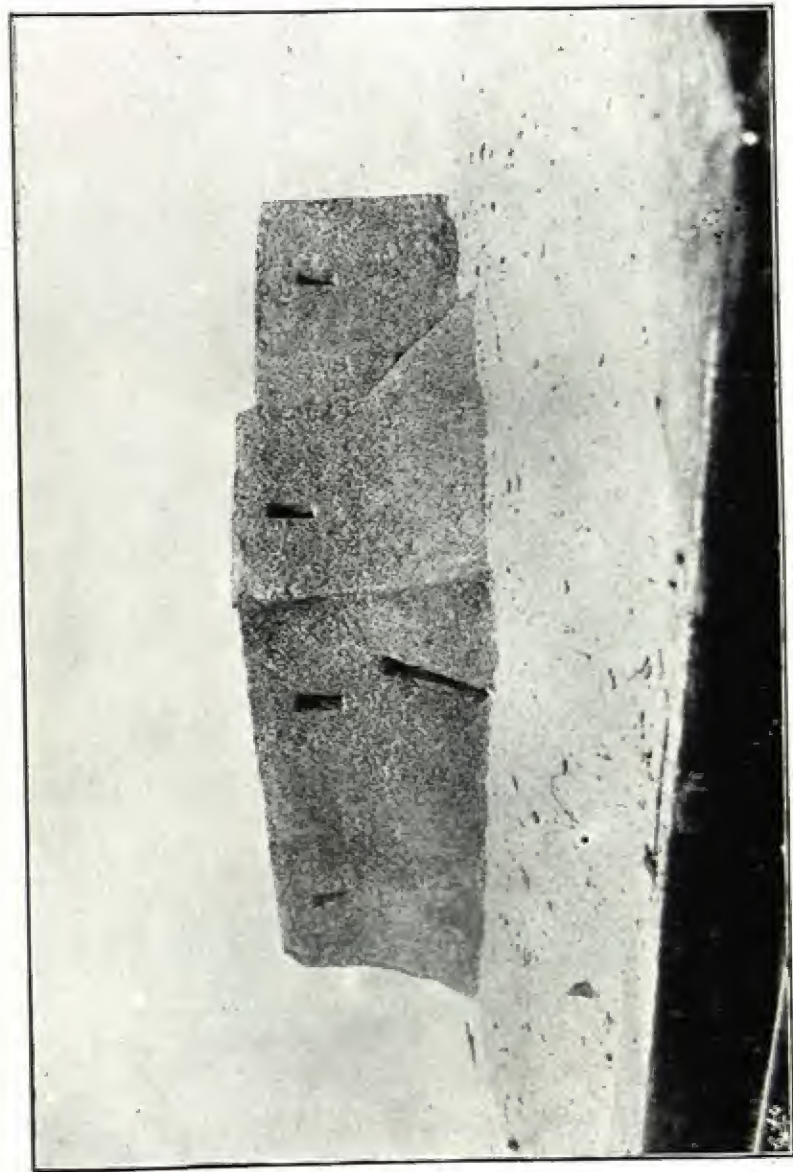
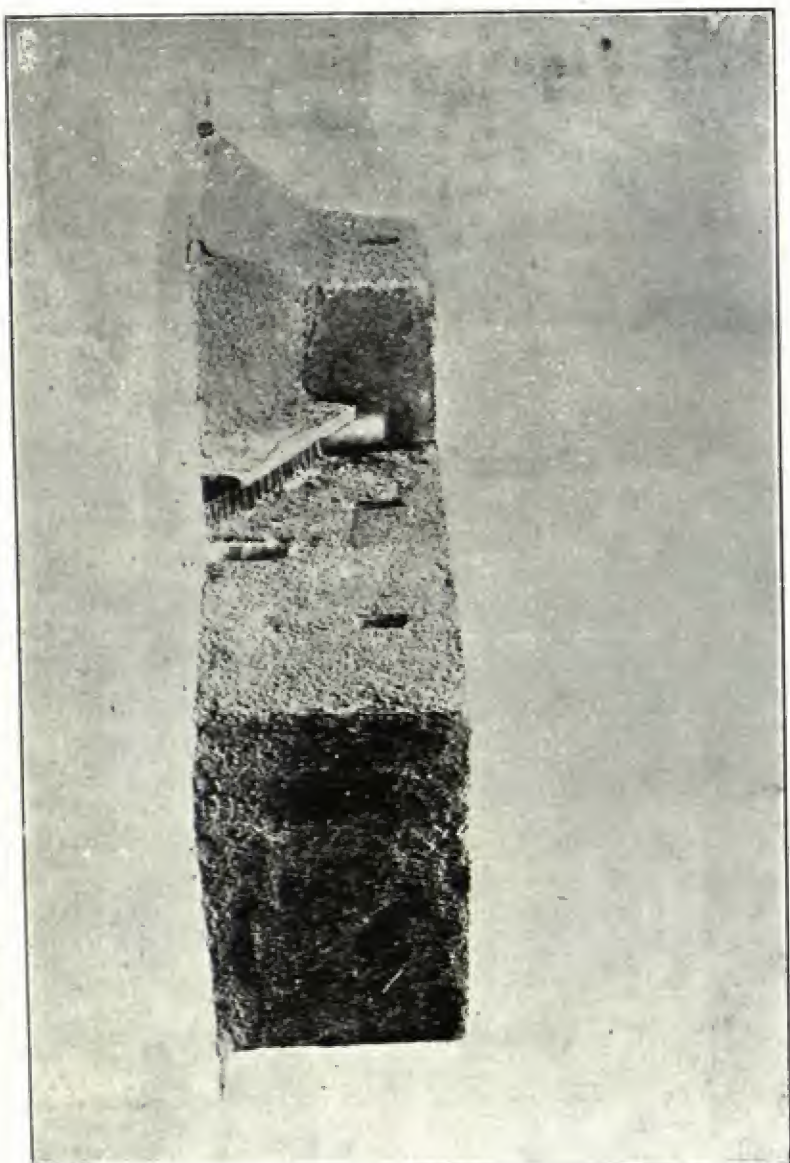


PLATE V.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the south-east.

PLATE VI.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the north-west.





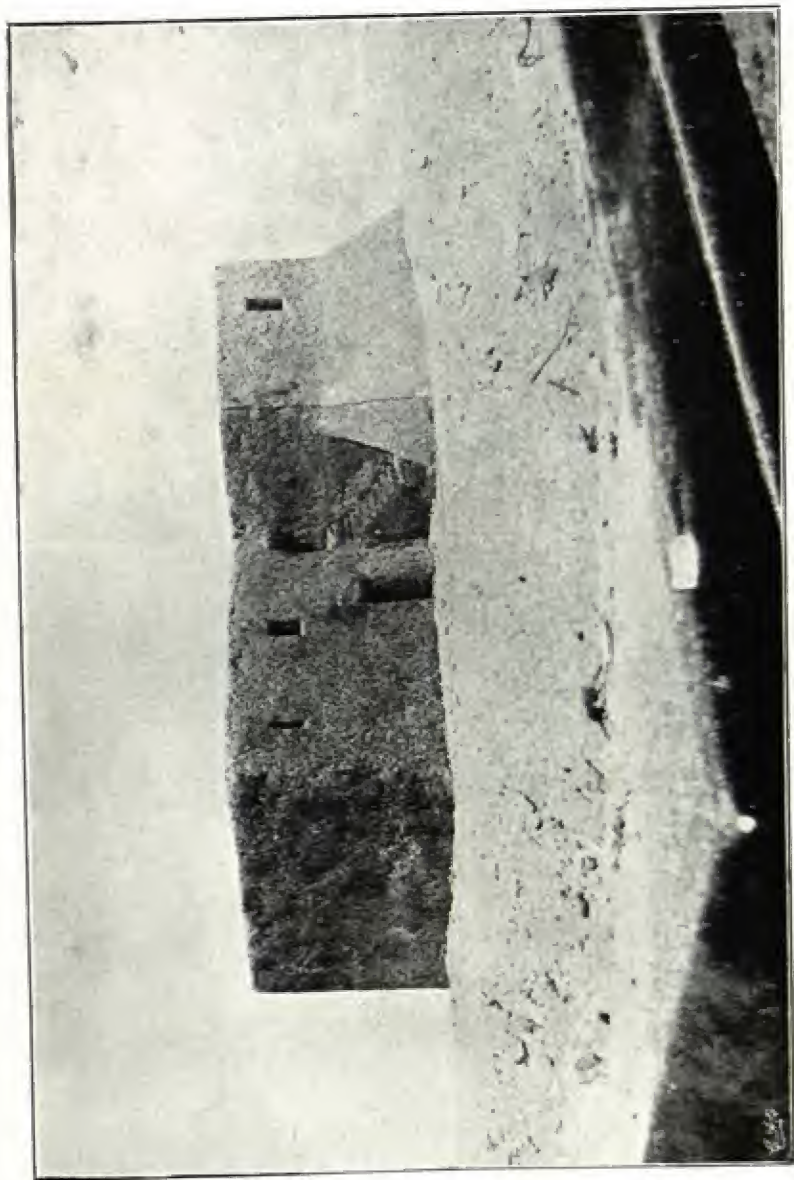


PLATE VII.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the north-east.



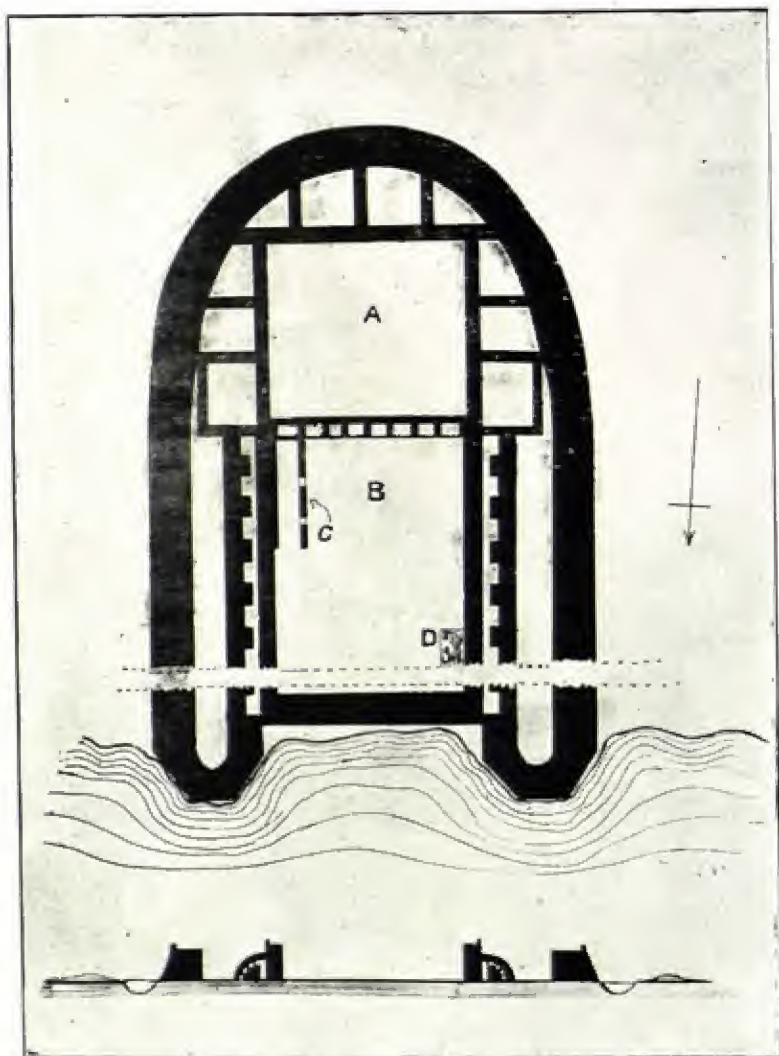
PLATE VIII.—DELFT FORT.—Ruins from the south-west.





PLATE IX.—DELFT FORT.—Ruins from the north-east.  
Showing remnants of staircase A and entrance to room 1. (Note the coral of which the fort was built).

PLATE X.



URUNDIKOTTE.

Upper Figure. Plan of the Fort Scale 1 inch=90 feet.

A=southern courtyard

B=northern courtyard

C=vaulted chapel

D=inclined road up to the ramparts.

Lower Figure. Section across the northern portion of the Fort to show the outer and inner ramparts, with the arched passages.



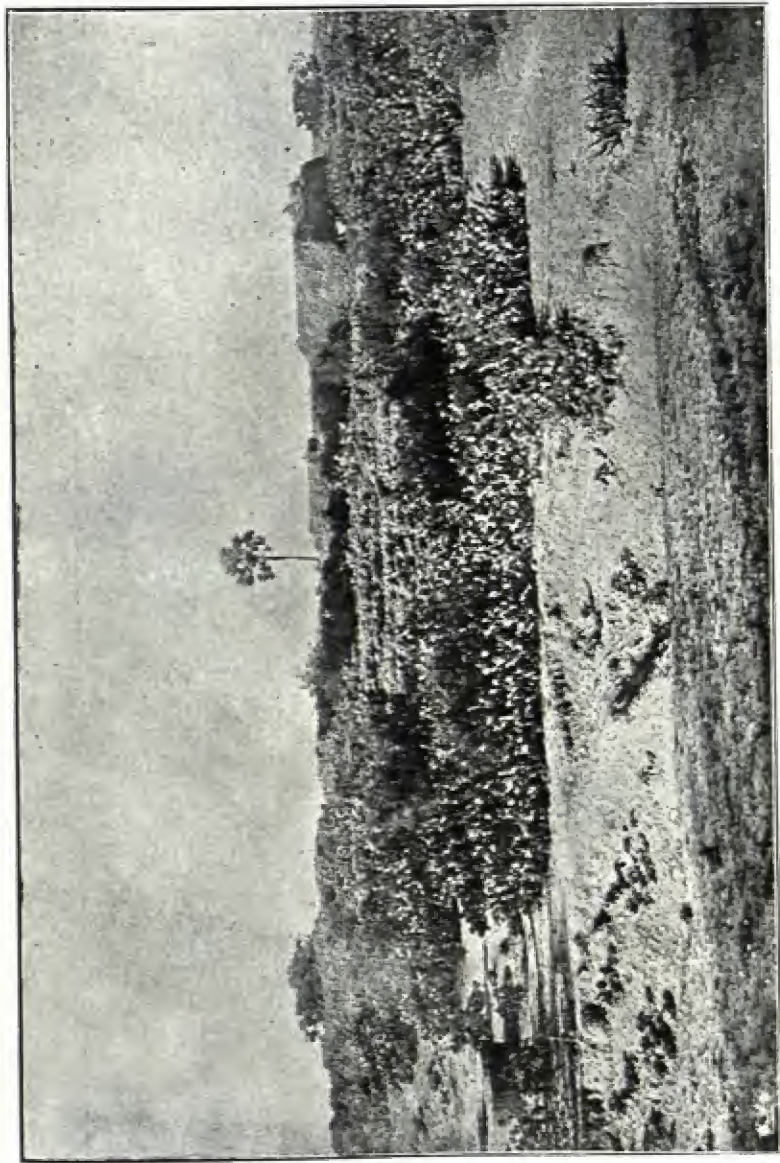


PLATE XI.—URUNDIKOTTE.—From the south-west.





the plan. Whether the original gates of the fort coincided with the present breaches is difficult to say. "Penn" speaks about "gateways in the east and west curtains" but this probably refers to the breaches made by the construction of the road referred to above.

*Note.*—The above account was communicated to the Society on December 14th, 1920 and the note was written sometime in 1922. Since then an account of *Urundikotte* has been given by R.H.B. in the "Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated" for April 27th, 1924. This writer uses the name Fort Eyrie, thus following Baldaeus and Simon Casie Chetty, and contributes a plan which agrees in the main with the one given in Plate x. of the present paper.

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## EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

## No. 2. SULTÁNS' MISSIVES: A.C. 1713; 1819.\*

The Annual Embassy from the Sultán of the Máldive Islands to the Ceylon Government usually arrives at Colombo in the course of the last three months of the year.

During the Dutch occupation of the seaboard of the Island—and even in British times up to 1844 at least—a complimentary letter was sent yearly to the the “*Govorunadóru*,”<sup>1</sup> or Governor at Colombo.

This affords striking proof of the conservatism and ignorance of events, outside “their own little world,” formerly displayed by the Máldive Islanders, loath to break through a custom initiated at least as early as the Embassy in 1649 to Galle; then, and until Colombo was captured from the Portuguese in 1656, the chief seat of the Dutch Power in Ceylon.

The Sultáns' Missives have contained ordinarily request for the continuance of the friendship and favour of the Dutch and British Government in turn; for protection against enemies; and for aid to any Máldivian subjects who may chance to be wrecked on Ceylon shores; concluding—for a long period at least—with an apology for His Highness's Ambassadors, and the regular tender of presents.

These Letters clung so closely to a virtually stereotyped form, as to differ but little during the course of more than two and a half centuries.

\* Indispensable help in the translation of the Máldivian texts and the notes has been generously afforded the writer by Ahmad Didi Effendi *Kuda Doriméná Kilagefánu*, and 'Abdul Hamid Didi Effendi, Máldivian Government Representative.



This applies almost equally to the replies of Dutch and British Rulers alike. The Colombo Governors (and Commanders at Galle no less) have studiously promised to do everything in their power to promote the good understanding subsisting with the Sultáns; undertaken to succour shipwrecked Máldivians, whilst stipulating for the same friendly office on the part of the Sultáns towards British subjects castaway on the Máldive Atols; closing their communications with expression of approval of the conduct of the Ambassadors; and finally specifying the return presents.

In the late Seventies of last Century, the writer, when serving as a Ceylon Civil Servant in Colombo, was enabled, by express permission, to examine the Dutch and English Archives at the Record Office; with the more special object of unearthing all available information regarding the Máldive Islands.

He was fortunate enough to reap a rich harvest; particularly in historical research touching Ceylon's Dependency, "*Divehi Rájje*" or "the Máldive Kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

More than 120 original Missives received from the Máldives came to light,<sup>3</sup> covering the reigns, in whole or in part, of nine Sultáns, from S. Muzaffar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II., of the Diyamigili Dynasty (accession, A.C. 1704) to S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV. (accession, A.C. 1835), the fifth Ruler of the Mulí Dynasty; which still claims the throne, in the person of his grandson, Sultán Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín III. (first accession, A.C. 1893; second, A.C. 1903).

These Missives, or a representative selection, may possibly some day be given to the world by the Ceylon Government. Meanwhile, it will not be amiss to publish, from time to time, in the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society some of the Letters of more than formal interest from the long series.

Towards this end, as a start, two Missives are being dealt with in the present Paper. These have been selected, advisedly, for four main reasons:—

(i.) The first Letter is the oldest known actual Missive extant, albeit written in *Tána* the present-day Máldivian script.<sup>4</sup>

(ii.) A century separates it in age from the other Letter.

(iii.) The evolution in the form of the current Máldivian characters is, thereby, the more clearly marked.<sup>5</sup>

(iv.) The contents of the two Missives differ wholly.

Transcripts, with word for word meanings in English, are followed by explanatory Notes, and rounded off by running Translations.

### A. SULTÁN'S MISSIVE: A.C. 1713.

This, the earliest original Letter from any Máldive Sultán discovered in the Dutch Archives,<sup>6</sup> is of much historical value. It confirms the "*Tárikh*," and "*Rádavali*," or Chronicles of the Sultáns of the Máldive Islands, as to the particular Sultán reigning at the commencement of the 18th Century.<sup>7</sup>

By A.C. 1713 Sultán Muzaffar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II., had become firmly seated on the throne. He had secured the Sovereignty nine years previously (A.C. 1704) owing to fortuitous circumstances.

In that year, his predecessor, Sultán Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín, of the short-lived Isdú Dynasty, (who had ousted his own cousin, Sultán Ḥaṣan X., a boy), went the *Hajj*; and was confidently reported to have perished at sea on the return voyage.

Persuaded of their Sultán's death, the stronger party's influence at Málé, over-riding the claims of his nephew, raised to the *Masmad* the Chief Vazír,



Muhammad *Dořiméná Takurufánu*, a distant relative, whom the departing Sultán had named as Regent during his pilgrimage.

In reality Sultán Ibráhím Muzhir-ud-dín had made landfall somewhere on the coast of India.

Three bold, but fruitless, efforts (the last and nearly successful in A.C. 1711, or only two years before the present Missive was penned) were made by the adventurous ex-Sultán—the “Bođu Kilagefánu” of story—to recover the throne, with aid obtained on the Indian Continent.<sup>8</sup>

Sultán Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín II. died in A.C. 1721; and was succeeded by his son, the able Ruler Sultán Ibráhím Iskandar II.

At the latter's demise in 1750, the Dynasty passed from disaster to disaster; first by the capture and deportation of Sultán Mukarram Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín III. in 1752;<sup>9</sup> finally coming to an end, in the third generation, with the murder of Sultán Ibráhím Iskandar's only son, Sultán Muhammad Ghiyás-ud-dín, in 1774.<sup>10</sup>

The Letter now published is the Annual Missive of the year (A.C. 1713) it bears on its face;<sup>11</sup> and is couched in a strain humbler than are those of a later date. The fear of renewed attempts by his persistent rival to regain the throne may well account for the earnest, almost pathetic, appeal to the Dutch Governor not to deprive the Sultán of his “sheltering care.”

In style, the Missive affects, in the phraseology of the day, that simplicity which all Máldivian correspondence, official or private, has always assumed.

The type of the *Tána* writing will be seen to be both bolder and more stilted, than that in vogue a Century later.

Archaic word and letter forms prevail;<sup>12</sup> the peculiar “J” and “T” are at this day obsolete; “R”

and "N," for (a) silent termination and (b) re-duplication of succeeding consonant, by far out-number *avien* (Λ), so freely used in the Letter of A.H. 1235<sup>12</sup> (A.C. 1819); whilst palatal "Ñ" and cerebral "N" (and these, strangely, combined with dental "N") find no place in the later Missives.

The Sultán's seal, name, and the era are alone here written in Arabic: later Missives contain many words both Arabic in language and script.

The use of the honorific plural (*e.g.* AḶUGADUMEN, MANIKUFÁNUMEN) was customary.

Very noticeable is the employment of the Christian Era, bespeaking the influence, at the period, of European traders to Málé. Letters of later years exhibit general preference for years *Anno Hijrae*, with occasional lapses to *Anno Christi* dating.

### Transcript

#### SEAL<sup>14</sup>

AL MA'UN BIL MALIKIL MUBÍN AN-NAŞIR  
SHAR'AT MUHAMMAD UL AMÍN AS-SULTÁN MUHAM-  
MAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN. LATÍF ALLÁH IBÁDAT AMÍN.

#### LETTER

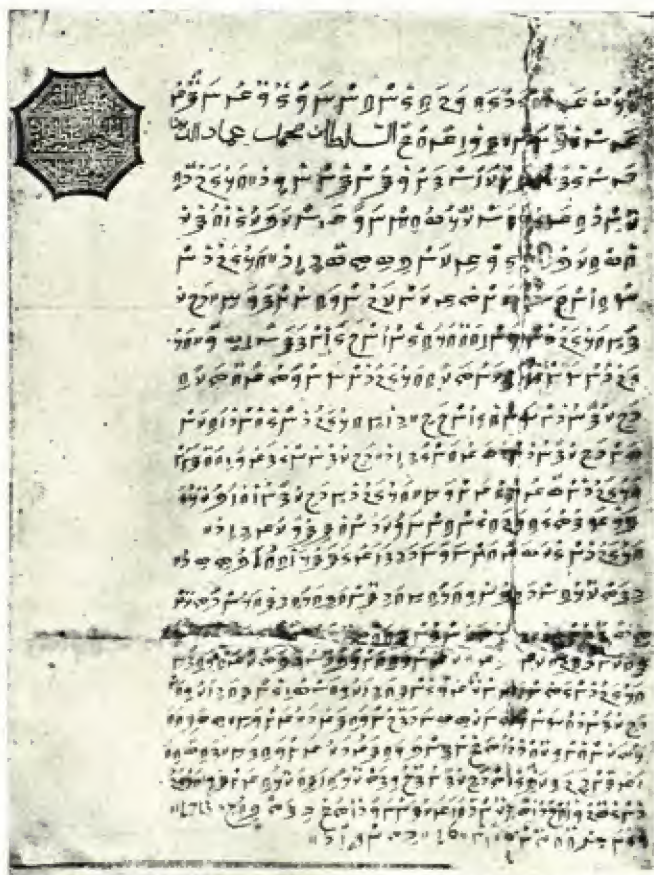
1. KOLUBU RASKAMUGAI VADAIGEN INNAVÁ  
At Colombo the Kingly rule occupying who is  
GOVORUNADÓRU  
to the Governor
2. RASGEFÁNA(R) DIVEHI RÁ(Λ)JE AS-SULTÁN  
Ruler of the Máldive Kingdom (We) Sultán  
MUHAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN  
Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín
3. RASGEFÁNU LA(R)KA HÁS FARU VEDUN<sup>15</sup>  
King lakhs thousand fold salutation  
DENNEVÍMU AḶUGADUMEI<sup>16</sup>  
make known. We



4. KO(N)ME      IRAKU      VIAS      KOLUBU      INNAVÁ  
 whatever      time      be it      at Colombo      (who) is  
 RASKALAKUGE      HEU      DEKE  
 of the Ruler      kindness      (who) have seen
5. E BEI KALUGE      VÁGI VERIKAN      LIBI TIBE  
 (and) of that person      aid [*lit.* strength]      (who) receive  
 MÍHÍMU      AĻUGADUMEN-  
 are the men.      With Us
6. ŠÁI      HUNŅA      SUHUBA(R)TERIKAN      KADU(N)VAI  
 existing      the friendship      break  
 NU(R)FAVANI      MAŅIKU-  
 do not      Your
7. FÁNÍ      AĻUGADUMENŠA(N)      HIAO      AĻAIGEN  
 Honour      to Us      shade      affording  
 HUNŅA      GEHEN      FADA      SÁHIBÍ VÉ      AĻU-  
 (which) is      a tree      like      the Lord (You) are.
8. -GADUMENŠA(N)GE HAI KANTAKAI AĻUGADMENŠA(N) VÁ  
 To Us      any matters      to Us  
 TURÁOTAKÁI  
 and difficulties
9. MANIKUFÁNUMENŠA(N)      EGI HUNŅANI      MIHÉNI  
 to Your Honour      are known.      This is because  
 AĻUGADUMENGE      E(N)ME      HAIKAN-  
 of Our      all      affairs
10. -TA(N)      MANIKUFÁNUMEN      KABARU      ANGÁ  
 to Your Honour      news      (who) inform  
 MÍHÍMU      MANIKUFÁNUNGE FARUVÁ      HIAO  
 (We) are the men.      Of Your Honour's      care the shade  
 DABU(N)  
 (who are) under
11. AĻUGADUMEN      BÉRU NUKURA(R)VANI  
 from Us      separate do not  
 AĻUGADUMENÍ      MANIKUFÁNU HEU HÁLU-KOLU GA-  
 We      Your Honour in good health
12. -DAVE      RAFUTUGAI      VADAIGEN INNAVÁ  
 vigour      and happiness      of the continuing  
 KAMA(N)      EDI DUVÁ      KURA      MÍHÍMU  
 in the state      (who) prayer      make      are the men.

13. ALUGADUMENCE KABARU A(R)SAVA NAMA  
Of Us news (You) enquire if  
MIFAHARU GADA DULAHEI UHALU TIBIMU  
now in sound health (and) happiness (We) are.
14. MI FAT-KOLU ISMAILU NEVI<sup>17</sup> ALÁI  
This missive Ism'á'il Nevi (Our) servant (and)  
NIAMI<sup>17</sup> DON ALI ALÁI MI DE  
Niami Don Ali (Our) servant these two  
ALUN MATIKO(R)  
(Our) servants in charge
15. TIBÁ FONU(N)VÍME (A) MI ALUTAKUN  
placing (We) send. To these (Our) servants  
GENDIA ETI KOLAKU VIÁFÁRIKAN  
(which) they have taken few things for trading  
KURA(R)VAI  
cause (help)
16. DIAKANA MAADIAKANA (.) RAVA<sup>18</sup> KARA(N)VAI  
..... cause.  
A (R) VALU MUSUMU DATU<sup>18</sup>  
In the early monsoon (their return) voyage  
KURA(A)VAIFANI  
cause (despatch of).
17. ALUGADUMEN GÁTUN HARÁN-KÓRU<sup>18</sup> VEGEN  
Us towards rebel becoming  
DIA MÍHAKU VIAS BEHIGEN<sup>20</sup>  
has gone (any) man if driven out of course  
DIA MÍHAKU VIAS  
has gone (any) man if
18. MANIKUFÁSUMENNA(N)VA TANAKU TIBI NAMA  
(where) Your Honour is to the place (it) be if  
FONU(N)VAI DARUMA KURA(R)VANI TIBA  
having sent the kindness do Us. To Your (country)  
DIA A-  
(who) have gone (Our)
19. LUTAKUN ENGI KO(A)ME MUHUTÁJEN<sup>21</sup>  
servants make known whatever wants  
VIN(N)LAVAI DARUMA KURA(R)VAIFANI  
having satisfied the kindness do.  
FAIBÉI A-  
In the past





SULTAN'S MISSIVE : A. C. 1713.

Scale : One-third (approx.)





20. -HARU DO(Ṛ)ṬAḌAFI<sup>22</sup> KALÓGE ATU MAṢIKUFÁNU  
 year by Doṭṭaḍafi Kalóge's hand Your Honour  
 FOṢUVI FAT-KOLÁI HADÍÁ-KOLÁI<sup>23</sup> RA(Ṛ)DUVI  
 (which) sent Missive and presents (We) received.

ALUGADU-  
 Our

21. -MENGE BODU VE HU(A)NA MUHUTÁDÍ KO(N)ME  
 great (which) are wants in whatever

AHARAKU DANNAVÁ MUHUTÁJU<sup>21</sup>  
 year made known (those are) the wants.

MI FAT LIUNÍ 1713  
 This Missive is written 1713

22. MI VANA JANÍRU<sup>24</sup> OITÉNBARU(N) 16  
 of this being January October 16

MITA(N) VI HOMA  
 this (which) is Monday.

### Notes

1. *Govurunudóru*:—Corruption, doubtless through Portuguese, of the Latin *Gubernator*. The transliteration of the word greatly exercised the Máldivian State Secretaries: the first part appears in Sultáns' Missives under a variety of forms more or less close, e.g., *Govorana*-, *Goruna*-, *Gorna*-, *Govan*-, *Goun*-, *dóru*.

Of the "Commander" at Galle, they made *Kubudóru*.

2. Partially embodied in "Report on the Máldive Islands," Sessional Paper, XLIII., 1881.

3. *Sultáns' Missives*:—All the original Missives of the Sultáns which had survived between A.C. 1713 and A.C. 1880, were, with the consent of the Government, photographed and lithographed, or both, at the writer's charges.

These comprise Letters of S. Muzaḥfar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II. (*Máldivian Tána*, 2) 2: S. 'Ibráḥím Iskandar II. (*Tána*, 9; Arabic, 2; Portuguese, 3; French, 1) 15: S. Muḥarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III. (*Tána*, 8) 8: S. Ḥaṣan 'Izz-ud-dín (*Tána*, 6; Arabic, 1) 7: S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín (*Tána*, 8; Arabic 1; French 1) 10: S. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dín (*Tána*, 3) 3: S. Ḥaṣan Núr-ud-dín (*Tána*, 19) 19: S. Muḥammad Mu'in-ud-dín I. (*Tána*, 11; Arabic, 4) 15: S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV. (Arabic, 44) 44.

Some of the Missives are choice specimens of calligraphy, written in red and black characters; one (A.H. 1208) of S. Ḥaṣan Nūr-ud-dīn has an ornamental border in gold foliation.

4. The earliest original Missive in *Tāna* known is dated A.C. 1713; the latest A.H. 1241 (A.C. 1825). Thereafter all have been in Arabic.

5. The oldest form of Máldivian script yet discovered, (i) *Evēla Akuru*, is that of copper-plate grants (*Lómáfānu*) which have survived to this day. This type, strikingly resembling medieval Sinhalese, gradually developed into (ii) *Dives Akuru* characters; which, though no longer employed, are known to a limited number of Máldivians on the Group.

Both (i) and (ii) read from left to right, the former approximating to the lithic script of Ceylon inscriptions much more closely.

The third form of character, (iii) *Tāna*—based on Arabic and Persian elements, and, like them, read from right to left—seems to have been in concurrent use with (ii) *Dives Akuru* from the 17th Century at least, if not earlier.

For detailed information regarding the *Dives Akuru* and *Tāna* Alphabets, reference may be made to C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXVII., Extra Number, 1919, Appendix C.

6. The Dutch Archives contain an Arabic copy of Governor Laurens Van Pyl's reply, in A.C. 1688, to a Missive from "Muḥammad Ībrāhīm," the Sultān then reigning, viz., S. Iskandar Ībrāhīm I., son of S. Shujāy Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn I.

7. See "The Máldive Islands," Sessional Paper, XV., 1921, p. 17.

8. *S. Ībrāhīm Muzhir-ud-dīn*:—He made the first attempt to re-land at Málé within a month of his successor's accession (A.D. 1704). On this occasion he was seized, and banished to Fua Mulaku; his cousin, Sultān Ḥaṣan being sent to Hitadú Island in Addu Atol, where he lived in exile until his death in A.C. 1758.

The former, after five or six year's captivity, managed to escape to Ceylon, and thence reached India: where, obtaining substantial aid, he again essayed to capture Málé, but had to retire ingloriously (A.C. 1711).



Towards the end of the same year he repeated his twice abortive efforts with a larger expedition; and by a night assault nearly succeeded in carrying Málé by storm.

The reigning Sultán notified the Dutch Governor H. Becker (October 19th, 1711) that Providence had intervened to repel his enemy: *Nu heeft God gementioneerd vyand weder van heer verdreven* (Dutch translation).

9. *S. Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III.*:—Betrayed by the Máldivian Kázi, Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín, and his brother Ahmad Muhuy-ud-dín, Khatib, to Ali Rája of Kannannúr in A.C. 1752.

Those of the Malabars who remained at Málé incontinently put the traitors to death; but were themselves overwhelmed within a few months by a rising of the Máldivians led by Don Maniku, son of *Muḥammad Famudéri* Vazír who met his Sultán's fate.

He was raised to the throne, as S. Haṣan 'Izz-ud-dín, in A.C. 1759 by a grateful people, after the ex-Sultán's death in captivity.

10. *S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín*:—Shared the captivity in India of his uncle, the deported Sultán; but some years later escaped and returned to Málé; where he was given royal honour. On the death of S. Haṣan 'Izz-ud-dín in A.C. 1767 he succeeded to the throne, the latter's sons being then minors. Sailing in A. C. 1773 on a pilgrimage to Mekka, he was refused landing on his return to Málé the following year, and murdered by adherents of the late Sultán whose wife and children he had banished.

*De male quaesitis vix gaudet tertius heros.* See Sessional Paper, XV., 1921, p. 19.

11. The writing on Missive of A.C. 1713 measures  $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$ , and runs to 22 lines. The photograph (Plate I) shows the old creases in the letter as found folded.

12. Cf: the old *Tána* writing on the *Pandanus* booklet of Máldive "Charms" (*Faḍḍita Fot*) in C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXVII., Extra Number, 1919.

13. See Sultán Haṣan Núr-ud-dín's Missive of A.H. 1210 (A.C. 1795), reproduced in Sessional Paper XLIII., 1881; as well as C.A.S. Journal Vol. XXXVII., Extra Number, 1919, where specimens of the present writing are given for comparison.

14. *Sultán's Seal*:—Octagonal; 1 9/10 in.; slightly cusped. This was the favourite shape up to the reign of S. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dīn; though S. Ḥaṣan 'Izz-ud-dīn used only smaller seals, round or oval. S. Ḥaṣan Nūr-ud-dīn changed from octagonal (one seal only), and large oval, to smaller horizontal *vesica piscis*. S. Muḥammad Mu'in-dīn I usually preferred a bold circular seal to the latter; but the pointed-oval has been re-adopted since invariably.

15. *Vedun*:—"Has two meanings, (a) 'present,' (b) 'salutation.' Inferiors use *Salām* (Arabic) in the latter sense" (A.H. Dídí).

16. Read *Aḷugaḍumeni* (line 3); *daturu* (line 16).

17. *Neví*; *Niami*:—*Neví* was the Chief Máldive Agent and Senior Official in charge of Government or private goods shipped; *Niyami*, the Captain, or Tindal, responsible for the vessel's safety and navigation.

18. "The passage seems unintelligible as it stands: perhaps there is something omitted" (A.H. Dídí).

19. *Harán kóru*:—"Haram (Arabic) 'opponent' or 'rebel'. *Kóru* here is meaningless" (A.H. Dídí).

20. *Behigen* or *Behigen gos* (Pyrard: *behique*, "sailing with the wind and current"). Cf. Drake's (old English) "spooming along before the sea."

21. *Muhutájen*:—"Muhutáju should be *mutádu* (Arabic, *muhtaj*)" (A.H. Dídí).

22. *Doṭṭadafi*:—One of the many honorific titles (*kangati nam*), now virtually obsolete, such as *Dánná*, *Fenná*, *Kánná*, *Oḷiginá*, *Kavalanná*, *Woṭa Baḍéri*, &c.

23. *Hadiá*:—Arabic "present". "*Hadiá* presents are exchangeable between equals only; *Vedun* offered to a superior, or *vice versa*." (A. H. Dídí).

24. *Janíru*:—"January". "This term is still employed to denote the Christian Era; but *Isugefánu* ('Jesus Christ') is more usual." (A. H. Dídí).

### Translation

#### SEAL.

The Noble Muḥammad, who seeks help from God of the Universe the Imparter of action (motives), by His knowledge of good and bad, and the



Grantor of happiness; Whose laws he (*i.e.*, the Sultán) upholds, *viz.* the Sultán Amín Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín. O God, to that (His) Highness show kindness and mercy, overlooking his shortcomings. Amen.\*

#### LETTER

To the Governor ruling at Colombo, (We), Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín, the Sultán of the Máldive Islands, offer countless (*lit.* lakhs and thousand-fold) salutations.

We have experienced at all times the goodwill of the Rulers at Colombo, and assistance from them. Be pleased not to (*lit.* do not) break the friendship which exists between Us. (Your Honour is) the Lord (*Sáhib*) who, like the shadow of a tree, doth protect Us. Everything that befalls Us, and the difficulties which beset Us, are known to Your Honour, by reason of Our (*lit.* being the persons) ever keeping (Your Honour) informed regarding all Our affairs. Do not, (We beg), deprive Us of Your Honour's sheltering care, under which We abide.

We (*lit.* are persons who) offer prayers that (Your Honour) may continue in perfect health, vigour, and happiness. Should Your Honour desire to enquire regarding Our health, We are now in the enjoyment of sound health and happiness.

This Missive is sent (to Your Honour) in charge of (Our) two subjects Ismá'il *Neví* and Don 'Ali *Niyamí*. (Graciously) help them to dispose of the few commodities they have taken to trade withal; and (kindly) despatch them early in the monsoon.

Should any persons either inimical towards Us have gone, or (any other persons) been driven out of their course (*behigen*), to any place belonging to Your Honour, (kindly) send them back to Us.

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\* The writer is indebted to L. 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendi for transcript and translation of the Sultán's Seal.

Whatever requests Our servants who went to Your (domain) make, (be pleased to) satisfy.

The Missive and presents sent by Your Honour last year, in the hands of *Dottadafi Kalóge*, were (duly) received.

Our chief wants are those which (We) make known every year.

This Missive is written on Monday, the 16th October, of this Christian Year, 1713.

### B. SULTÁN'S MISSIVE: A. C. 1819.<sup>1</sup>

In 1819, the "Hayston," a British vessel, outward bound, with a cargo of metals, wines, glassware and spices, was driven by the S.W. Monsoon on to a reef, then uncharted, of the Northern Máldive Atols.

The officers, passengers, and crew took to the ship's two boats and a raft; but owing to the violence of the sea, the larger boat was lost, with all on board.

The other boat and raft, which held the Captain and twenty-nine men, after four days battling with the waves, were fortunately observed by some Islanders; who rescued all the surviving ship's company.

Taken first to Makunudú Island,<sup>2</sup> the Captain and other survivors were (in accordance with strict Máldivian regulation) conveyed subsequently in the Islanders' boats to Málé, the seat of Government.

From here the whole party was transported to Ceylon and India—fourteen men, with the Captain, to Galle; the remaining fifteen to Chittagong.

The Captain, with the first batch of castaways, reached Galle during the last week of August.

On August 28th, the Collector, Galle, reported to the Chief Secretary to Government:—

"I called upon Captain Sartorius, who informed me that every possible attention was shown himself, passengers, and crew during their residence at Málé.



Good houses were allotted them, plenty of the best food the Island afforded furnished, and as much clothing as they required. The boat in which they arrived here was furnished expressly to convey them; and all payment by bills on the shipowners at Calcutta, or other remuneration, refused. They all speak with gratitude of the kind treatment they received at Málé.”\*

The present Missive of Sultán Muḥammad Mu’in-ud-dín I. is one of many similar communications received by Dutch and British Governors in Ceylon testifying to numerous instances which stand to the infinite credit of the Máldivians and their Rulers; wherein, for centuries past, like humane conduct has been displayed by the Islanders towards persons shipwrecked on their Atols.<sup>4</sup>

By former Máldivian Law, or long standing usage, all wrecks were invariably held to be royalty, the property of the Sultán.

This custom, mentioned by Pyrard (French captive at Málé, A.C. 1602-1607,<sup>5</sup>) also ruled in other sea-board States of India, *e.g.*, Kálastri, Sáwantwári, &c.

Under different Treaties with the East India Company, Indian Princes consented to waive their right to wrecks; but no such agreement would appear to have ever been contracted with the Máldive Sultáns.<sup>6</sup>

The Máldivians may lay claim to the proud distinction of being probably the only race, similarly situated on the face of the globe, who have not required to be taught by special contract, or legal enactment, the duty they owe their fellow men who have fallen into “troubles by shipwreck” on their “tempest-haunted” Atols.

*“Homines enim ad deos nullâ re proprius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.”* (The Máldive Islands, Sess: Pap. XLIII., 1881).

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\* This communication from Galle was kindly supplied by Mr. E. Reimers, Government Archivist.

The "*Europa*" had been wrecked on the Máldives in 1812; in 1815 a Galle Dhoney was also driven ashore there; to be followed, within four years, by the "*Hayston*,"\*

In the first case the Governor of Ceylon, Sir R. Brownrigg, notified, the Sultán (S. Muḥammad Mu'in-ud-dín I.) that he had expressed more than once his "sense of the kindness afforded" by His Highness similarly: on the second occasion the cargo of cinnamon from the Dhoney was presented to the Sultán in acknowledgment of his "humanity and care."

The third wreck, that of the "*Hayston*," called forth further hearty testimony to the same Ruler's enlightened action:—

"I have had," wrote the Governor (September 6th, 1819), "with great satisfaction the Letter which Your Highness' Messenger, who lately arrived at Galle, brought to the Collector of the District, containing the particulars of the loss of an English ship off the Máldive Islands, and of the humane treatment the officers, passengers, and crew who were so fortunate as to survive the wreck received from Your Highness during the period of their detention within Your dominions. The vessels in which they were despatched to Ceylon arrived in safety.

"I am most happy to learn that the conduct of the unfortunate sufferers gave Your Highness so much satisfaction while they remained under Your protection, and thereby rendered themselves worthy of the kind and benevolent care Your Highness was pleased to take of them.

"I have sent a present\* similar to the Annual one usually made to you from this Government, together with

---

\* The present shipped to the Sultán on September 22nd, 1819 comprised:—One bale of cinnamon; one ream of Europe paper; one quarter pound each of cloves, mace, nutmegs and cardamons; five pieces of sealing-wax; and five pounds of pepper.



a bale of cinnamon, which I request Your Highness to accept as a mark of my friendship and esteem.

"I shall always be most happy to assist the vessels belonging to my good friends, Your Highness' subjects, whenever such assistance is required.

"May Your Highness continue to enjoy a long, happy, and prosperous reign."

The sharp and pleasing contrast between the courteous behaviour of Captain Sartorius of the "Hayston," and the disgraceful proceedings of Captain Alwayn and the crew of the "Europa"—conduct so outrageous as finally to necessitate the temporary incarceration, and subsequent surveillance, of Captain and Pilot at Málé<sup>7</sup>—doubtless induced the happy eulogy of the former so quaintly expressed in an unsophisticated paragraph of the Sultán's Missive.

### Transcript

#### SEAL

AS-SULTÁN MUHAMMAD MU'IN-UD-DÍN

#### LETTER\*

- |    |                                   |                           |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 1. | AS-SULTÁN<br>The Sultán           | MUHAMMAD<br>Muhammad      | MU'IN-UD-DÍN<br>Mu'in-ud-dín                                  |
|    | ISKANDAR<br>Iskandar              | KULA<br>of pure           | SUNDURA KA(A)-<br>race  |
| 2. | TIRI<br>a Kshatriya               | BOVANA<br>of the Universe | MAHA RADUN<br>Great King.                                     |
|    | GÁLÍ<br>Of Galle                  | KÓTÉ<br>Fort              | BODÁ SÁHIBA(A) MITA(N) LA(A)<br>to the Great Lord these lakhs |
| 3. | -KA HÁS<br>thousand               | FARUN<br>fold             | DUVÁ SALÁM<br>prayers (and) salutations.                      |
|    | MANIKUFÁNUMENGE<br>Of Your Honour | IGERÉZIGE<br>an English   | TIN<br>three.   |
| 4. | -KUBU<br>masted                   | NAVE(A)<br>a ship         | MI<br>at this   |
|    | URINJE EYE<br>grounded.           | MI<br>This                | DIVEHI RÁ(A)JEYA(N)<br>Máldivian Kingdom                      |
|    |                                   | NAVU<br>ship's            | KA(A)FITÁ-<br>Captain   |

\* Headed by HU'AL GHANI "He (God) is most bountiful."

5. -NA(A)                      KÍ                      NAMÍ                      "SARUTÓSRIYŪS"  
    (is)called                      (by)the name                      Sartorius.  
    NA                      URUNUTÁ                      HATARU                      DUVAS  
    The ship                      grounded                      four                      days
6.                      VÍ                      FAHUN                      MÍHAKU                      NUDURÍMÁI  
    being                      after                      by a man                      not being seen  
    MIBAI                      MÍHUN                      NAVUN                      FAIBÁNÁ(A)  
    these                      men                      from the ship                      for landing  
    DE                      BA(N)-  
    two                      boats
7. -TE(N)YÁ                      KADUFATI GADAKÁI GEN                      NAVUN  
    and a raft taking                      from the ship  
    FAIBAIGE (A)                      OLENIKON                      BOPU  
    got onto.                      While remaining (on the sea)                      in the big
8. BA(N)TE(A) YAN                      ERI                      MÍHUNÁ  
    boat                      (who) embarked                      the men  
    BA(N)TE(N)YÁ                      GE(A)LI(A)JE EVE                      KA(A)FITÁ-  
    (and) the boat                      sunk.                      The Captain
9. -NU                      ERI                      BA(N)TELI                      BAYAKU  
    (in which) embarked                      the boat                      people  
    DEKEGEN                      MAKUNUDU                      VE                      KIYÁ                      RAĀKA(N)  
    having seen                      Makunudú                      being called                      to an island  
    GENGOS-  
    having taken;
10. -VAI RASGEFÁNU                      VADAIGE(A)VÁ                      RARA(N)  
    the King                      (where) residing                      to the Island  
    GENASLÍMAI                      MI                      KA(A)FITÁNU  
    when brought                      this                      Captain
11. KURE(A)                      ANAIFÍMU                      NUUGAI                      HURÍ                      KON  
    from                      We asked                      "In the ship                      are                      what  
    E(N)CHE(A)-TOEVE                      EHÍMÁI                      KA(A)FI-  
    things"?                      When asked                      the Captain
12. -TÁNU                      BUNÍ                      DAGADÁI                      EKATAYÁI                      FURÁRU  
    said                      "Iron,                      steel,                      sheets,  
    LÓYÁI                      RÁYÁI                      KARA(A)  
    copper,                      wines,                      cloves,
13. -FULÁI                      BI(N)LŪRI                      TA(N)TÁI"                      MI                      ODIN  
    glass                      dishes.                      In this                      oḍi  
    KA(A)FITÁNÁI                      EKV                      SAUDA  
    the Captain                      with                      fourteen





SULTAN'S MISSIVE : A. H. 1235 (A. C. 1819).

Scale : One-third (approx).





14. MÍHUN OÁYA(N) EBA FONUVÍMU MI NAU  
men to Galle. We have sent. This ship  
URUNU TANA KÍ MI MÍHUN  
(where) grounded place called these men (Máldivians)  
GOS AI-  
gone (and) come
15. -SVÁ TANE(N) NUNEVE MI NAVUN  
a place is not. From this ship  
LA(A)VÍ E(N)ME KARA(A)FÚ BASDÁ EKEVE  
was beached in all cloves bag one.
16. MI MÍHUNGE RÁ(A)JEYA(N)  
Of these (Máldivian) people to the Kingdom  
MÍHA HEU MÍHE(N) DUHÁKUVES  
such good man at any days  
AI VÁHAKA VES  
came news
17. NÁHAMU ADI KALÁSÍNGE FANARA  
We never heard. Further of the sailors fifteen  
MÍHUN EHEN OPIYAKUN SADIĞAMA(A)  
men in another ođi to Chittagong
18. FONUVÁ(A) KA(A)FITÁNU BUNÍMÁI  
(whom) to send the Captain having asked  
EBA TIBÚ MANIKUFÁNUMENNA(A) MI-  
are remaining. To Your Honour these
19. -TA(N) LA(A)KA HÁS FARUN  
lakhs thousand fold  
DUVÁ SALÁM SANAT 1235<sup>a</sup>  
prayers and) salutations. (Hijra) year 1235

## Notes

1. The writing (19 lines) on the original Missive covers 12½ inches by 8 inches. Both reduced photographs (Plates I, II.) are approximately one-third size.

The Seal is of horizontal *vesica piscis* shape; 1 5/12 inches by 1 inch.

2. *Makunudú* (*Malcolm Atol*):—A large lagoon reef, 16 miles long by 3 miles broad, 10 miles West of Miladummađulu Atol, North.

Said to have been unknown to Europeans previous to the Indian Navy Survey of the Máldives in 1834-36. According to native information many ships have been lost with all hands on its barren reef, scarcely a vestige of the wrecks remaining after a few hours, owing to the violence of the surf and the steepness of the reef.

Except Makunudú Island (lat. 6° 25' N., long. 72° 41' E.), inhabited, on the N.E., point and a small island N.W., there is nothing but the surf to mark the reef.

3. *Wrecks and Máldivian Humanity*:—Going back to the 17th and 18th Centuries.

In 1631 "the King (S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I., A.C. 1629-1658) of the Islands wrote to D. George de Almeyda (Captain of a Portuguese vessel, wrecked in the Group,) condoling his misfortune and sending him a parcel of rice." (*Stephen, Faria-y Sousa, III., 397*).

In August, 1658, the "*Persia Merchant*" was wrecked on Tiladummatí Atol. The fifty survivors (passengers and crew) were well treated by the Islanders, given "toddy to drinke and rice to eate" with "fish and other good things, as hony (jaggery), on which they fed like farmers." Despite some hickering (probably induced by mutual misunderstanding), the shipwrecked Europeans were, after a month's stay, provided with a "a very good boate" (finally "agreed for in 200 pieces of eight"), in which they reached Ceylon at "Caliputeen" (Kalpitiya); and (except Mr. William Vassal with twelve others, who were taken to Kandy, and shared the captivity of Robert Knox and his fellows of the "Anne") ultimately found their way to India (*Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXI., 1902*).

Thirteen years later, Rykloff Van Goens, the Dutch Governor at Colombo, sent a Letter and presents to the Máldive Sultán (Iskandar Íbráhím I., A.C. 1658-1698) in courteous acknowledgement of his good treatment of some Hollanders and native sailors, crew of a Jaffna vessel wrecked in his dominions. (*Dutch Records; Resolutions of Council, Colombo, 1671*).

The survivors of the Dutch ship "*Ravestein*," with a valuable cargo of gold, wrecked on the Atols in May, 1726, received every attention. The Sultán's tolerant action throughout, under most trying circumstances, justly evoked the gratitude of Governor P. Vuyst; who expressed his "heartly thanks for all the aid afforded and



kindness shown," admitting the Sultán's "generous and kindly spirit" which had ignored the unruliness of the Captain. *The Máldive Islands; Sessional Paper XLIII., 1881, pp. 44-45).*

In 1777 the "Duras," a French vessel, with some ladies on board, was cast away on the Island of Himiti (N. Nilandé Atol). All the shipwrecked folk met with the kindest treatment from the Islanders of the Atol where the ship was lost as well as at Málé.

4. *Máldivian Salvage Law*:—"Il se perdit lá (les Maldives) vn nauire appartenant au Roy d' Achen. Le Roy gaigna toute cette marchandise, qui luy appartient selon la coustume." (*Pyrrard, Voyage, 1679, pp. 210-11).*

The law at the present day was clearly stated (September 22nd, 1905), by the Prime Minister to H. H. the Sultán in connection with the salvaged goods from the SS. "Crusader":—"One half of the goods saved by the Máldivians from a vessel wrecked in His Highness' dominions shall be the property of the Máldivian Government and the people who saved them; the other half is the property of the original owners." (*Papers relating to the Máldive Islands, 1904-1910; p. 9.*

5. See *Sessional Paper, XLIII., 1881, p. 123.*

6. *Loc. cit.* p. 130.

7. "Europa." :—*Loc. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

8. A.H. 1235 = A.C. October 21st, 1819—October 9th, 1820.

### Translation

#### SEAL.

The Sultán Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín.

#### LETTER.

(We), the Sultán Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín Iskandar, a Kshatriya of pure race, Great King of the Universe, send to the Great Lord of Galle Fort countless greetings with our prayers.

A three-masted English vessel of Your Honour's Nationality has been cast away in this Máldive Kingdom. The name of the Captain of the ship is Sartorius.

Four days after the ship grounded, as no one had seen her, the (ship's) people took to the two boats and a raft.

Whilst still on the sea, the men who got into the large boat were lost with the boat itself.

The boat in which the Captain embarked having been seen by some of Our people (Mádivians) they took them (Captain and others) to an Island called Makunudú.

When they were brought to the Island where the King resides (Málé), We asked the Captain:—"What goods are on board the ship?" To this enquiry the Captain replied:—"Iron, steel, copper-sheets, wines, cloves, and glass-ware."

In this *Oḍi* We are sending fourteen men, with the Captain, to Galle.

The place where this vessel was wrecked is a spot which Our people do not frequent.

Only one bag of cloves was washed ashore from the ship.

We have never heard at any time of the arrival in our Kingdom of a man so good as this (Captain).

For the rest, fifteen sailors, who were to be sent to Chitagong in another *oḍi*, are remaining (at Málé). at the request of the Captain.

Lakhs and lakhs of salutations and prayers (We offer) to Your Honour.

(Dated,) A. H. 1235 (A.C. 1819).<sup>s</sup>

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## THE KAHÁPANA OF THE VINAYA PÁRAJIKÁ PÁLI.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, B.A., C.C.S.

In the Vinaya are found two very early sets of texts relating to money, accompanied by ancient scholia. These are as follows:—

A. Párájiká Páli, 2nd Párájiká: Adinnádánamhi Patama Bháṇaváraṇaṃ.

Tena kho pana samayena Rájagahe pañca másako pádo hoti....Yo pana bhikkhu gámá vá araṇṇá vá adinnaṃ theyyasapkhátaṃ ádiyeyya yathárupe adinnádáne rájáno coraṇa gahetvá haneyyaṇa vá bandheyyaṇa vá pabbájeyyaṇa vá corosi bálosi mulhosi thenosi ti tatháruṇaṇa bhikkhu adinnaṃ ádiyamáno ayam pi párájiko hoti asaṇvása ti.

(Padabháṇana) Yatháruṇaṇa náma: pádaṇa vá pádárahaṇa vá atireka pádaṇa vá.....Coro náma: yo pañca másakaṇa vá atireka pañca másakaṇa vá agghanakaṇa adinnaṃ theyyasapkhátaṃ ádiyati, eso coro náma.

Now at that time at Rájagaha five másakas were a páda (quarter)....Whatsoever bhikkhu shall take, from village or from wood, anything not given—what men call “theft”—in such manner of taking as kings would seize the thief for and slay, or bind, or banish him, saying “Thou art a thief, thou art stupid, thou art a fool, thou art dishonest,”—the bhikkhu who in that manner takes the thing not given, he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.

(Scholium) “In such manner”: a quarter or things worth a quarter, or over a quarter.....“A thief”;

he who takes with theftuous intent what is not given, worth five *másakas* or over five *másakas*—this one is a thief.

B. *Ibid.* Kosiyavagga 8th nissaggiya.

Rúpiya sikkhápada. Yo pana bhikkhu játarúpa rajataṇ uggaṇheyya vá uggaṇhápeyya vá upanikkhittaṇ vá sádiyeyya nissaggiyaṇ pácittiyaṇ ti.

(Padabhájana) Játarúpaṇ náma satthuvaṇṇo vuccati. Rajataṇ náma kahápaṇo loha-másako dāru-másako jatú-másako ye voháraṇ gacchanti.

9th nissaggiya.

Rúpiya saṇvohára sikkhápada. Yo pana bhikkhu nānappakārakaṇ rúpiya saṇvoháraṇ samāpajeyya nissaggiyaṇ pácittiyaṇ ti.

(Padabhájana) Rúpiyaṇ náma satthuvaṇṇo kahápaṇo loha-másako dāru-másako jatú-másako ye voháraṇ gacchanti.

Precept as to “*rúpiya*.” Whatsoever bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him—that is a *pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture.

(Scholium) Gold is called “colour of the Teacher.” Silver means the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current

Precept on trafficking with “*rúpiya*.”

Whatsoever bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various transactions in which “*rúpiya*” is used, that is a *pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture<sup>1</sup>.

(Scholium) “*Rúpiya*” means gold (lit. colour of the Teacher), the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current.

The *kahápaṇa* according to the fifth century commentaries is known as the *Níla* or “faultless” *kahápaṇa*, the adjective being said to be formed from *na-ejaṇ*. As to this coin various traditions are current in Ceylon and Burma; all, however, agree that it consisted of 20 *másakas*.



The Ceylon tradition, apparently dating from the time of Buddhaghosa, represents the Nīla kahápana as well as the māsaka as of gold; in other words they were supposed to be a coined kaḷaṇḍa and mañjādi of that metal. The fourteenth century Sinhalese Ummagga Jātaka gives the composition of the Nīla kahápana as one half *māḍha* gold and one half alloy.

The páda or quarter was of 5 māsakas of gold†.

In the Burmese books in addition to a copper kahápana we find:

(a) the káhapana of pure gold,

(b) the "Mixed" or Missaka kahápana, composed of 5 māsas of gold, 5 māsas of silver, and 10 of copper, with one paddy seed weight of *loha*, this kahápana being the Nīla kahápana.

The Burmese páda was of 5 guñjās of gold, that is one fourth of the gold contents of the whole coin, which accordingly should weigh 20 māsas of 7.2 grains each or double the Ceylon kaḷaṇḍa. It should be noted that the Ceylon páda on the basis of the Ummagga Jātaka figures also contained 5 guñjās of fine gold‡.

It is apparent that there is no unity of tradition on the subject of the Nīla kahápana among the Southern Buddhists.

European savants hitherto have considered that the kahápana was of copper as laid down in Manu's Laws. There is, however, no doubt that these represented local usage and that the kahápana varied in different parts of India§.

\* Sacred Books of the East, XIII, pp. 26, 27.

† Samantapāsādikā; Pālimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgaho; Tīkā on last, &c.

‡ Sikkhāpada Valaṅkaraṇa of Pañcamūla; Vajirabuddhi Tīkā; Pātimokkha padattha Anuvaggaṇā of Vicittāloka; Uttara Vinicchaya Tīkā of Vācissara (quoted in Nāpakkittī's Bhikkhu Pātimokkha Gaṇṭhidiṇaṇi).

§ Rapson's Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. clxxxiv.

We luckily possess a clue to the identity of the Nīla kahāpaṇa in the statements of Śāriputta and Vajirabuddhi that the Rudradāmaka kahāpaṇa was three fourths of the Nīla, though we do not know the ancient sources to which these twelfth century writers are indebted\*. The Rudradāmaka kahāpaṇa is first mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghosa, and can hardly be any other coin but the silver kahāpaṇa of the Western Kshatrapas, in which dynasty were two Rudradāmans, the one a prince of some importance about A.D. 150, the other c.A.D. 327-358. These coins were issued from A.D. 119 to 388, and were continued by the Gupta from about 409 to 480 at least. The standard on which they were struck was that of the Persian hemidrachm of 43.2 grains. The Nīla kahāpaṇa therefore should weigh 57.6 grains; in other words it was the purāṇa or eldling of 32 guṇjās.

This identification of the Nīla kahāpaṇa with the eldling is in complete agreement with the known state of currency in early India, where gold circulated either as dust, ingots, or in the shape of ornaments such as the nishka or breast pendant, the coinage proper consisting of eldlings and copper paṇas or māsakas supplemented by cowries. It also accords with the ancient scholia already quoted. Thus that on the eighth nissaggiya differentiates between silver (rajata), under which head are included the kahāpaṇa and the various māsakas "which are current," and gold on the other. The kahāpaṇa therefore cannot have been of gold, which must have circulated in a raw or at least uncoined state. "Silver" was the silver kahāpaṇa *par excellence* with its subsidiary pieces, the different māsakas. These clearly were of low value, and as pieces of wood or lacquer of convenient size cannot have been equal to one of base

\* Śārattha dīpani Vinaya Tīkā, Vajirabuddhi Tīkā.



metal in worth I should suppose that the wooden and lacquer *másakas*\* were the fractional parts of the metal coin, the word "*másaka*" being applied generically to "small change" from its chief *dénomination*, just as "*rúpiya*" in the Precepts, literally silver, includes gold and from the context must mean "bullion" or rather "money" in the sense of currency medium. Its employment much in the same way as the French "*argent*" further confirms the position that the silver *eldling* was the principal coin in circulation.

The old Magadha currency thus consisted of the silver *kahápana* with subsidiary pieces of base metal or other materials. If the texts really represent the usage in the sixth century B.C. it is quite possible that the base metal *másaka* was not even punch-marked but was a mere piece of metal with a conventional value such as was used in Upper Burma. With the wooden *másaka* should be compared the bitter almonds used for currency in Gujarat in the seventeenth century†, the tamarind seeds mentioned in the *Tiká* on *Pálimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgaho*, and the cowries employed for the same purpose in many parts of the world.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* the later Magadha coinage consisted of the silver *paṇa* with its half, quarter and eighth, the copper whole and half *māshaka* with the whole and half *kākaṇi* in the same metal. The *paṇa* almost certainly was of the same weight as the *eldling* and equalled 32 *guṇjās*.

In Orissa, Bengal and the old North-Western Provinces the same system continued as late as the nineteenth century and was:—80 cowries=20 *gaṇḍas*=4 *búris* (*kākaṇis*)=1 *paṇ*, 16 or 20 of the last going to the *kaháwan*, *káhan*, or *kahápana*. Here the *paṇ* of 80

\* These I take to be *másaka-rúpa* as opposed to *másaka* (*Mhv. Tiká* on cap IV. 13).

† Tavernier, *Indian Travels*, p. 2.

cowries corresponds with Manu's copper paṇa of 80 gaṇjās and was once identical with the Magadha metal māsaka. The kahāwan is now merely the name of a sum of cowries and is no longer of silver.

To sum up, the kahāpaṇa in or shortly after Buddha's lifetime was the well known silver eldling. In process of time and after the introduction of a gold coinage this was forgotten and the fifth century commentators naturally followed the monetary system with which they were acquainted, just as in the early nineteenth century the larin (Sinh. *massa*) was treated as a māsaka. An example of the same process is to be seen in the translation of "denarius" by "penny" in the Authorised Version of the Gospels.



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VOLUME XXIX.  
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PAPERS:

THE WORSHIP OF MURUKA.  
VIJAYA BAHU'S INSCRIPTION AT POLONNARUWA.  
EXCERPTA MALDIVIANA.  
THE COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTIONS AT POLONNARUWA.  
THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA.  
NOTE ON "GRIEVING'S DIARY."  
THE CROOKED COMB.

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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries  
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,  
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and  
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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# Journal

of the

United States Army

and Navy

and Marine Corps

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

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### COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February, 9th, 1924.*

Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President.

Dr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. The following vote of Condolence by the Council:  
"Resolved to place on record an expression of its appreciation of the services rendered by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., in furtherance of the interests of the Society and of the objects for which it has been established, and of its keen regret at his untimely death, and to express to Lady Arunachalam and other members of the family our deep sympathy with them in their bereavement."

2. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 17th October, 1923, were read and confirmed.

3. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected as members of the Society:—

Rev. Edward C. Dewick, Joseph Matthias de Mel;  
Subramania Ranganathan, Wilfred Gunasekara, Leslie Donald  
Charleton Hughes, Felix Charles Aloysius de Silva, Conrad  
Valentine Gunasekara, Don Adrian St. Valentine Jayawardana.  
K.C.

4. The Council decided to nominate the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., for the office of President of the Society, in place of the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.

5. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam's paper entitled "Identification of the Port of Kalah" was tabled. It was resolved to accept the paper for reading at a meeting of the Society, the question of its publication to be considered later.

6. Mr. Bell's correspondence concerning the Maldivé Islands was tabled.

7. It was resolved to circulate the list of books suggested for purchase among the members of Council for their approval.

8. An application from the Society's peon for an increase of pay was considered, and it was resolved that his pay be increased to Rs. 22.50 a month.

9. The Council considered the question of the date and business for the next Council and General Meetings, and decided that the Annual General Meeting be held if possible on March 14.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 13th, 1924.*

## Present:

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.  
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.  
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 9th February, 1924, were read and confirmed.

2. The question of the nomination of Office-bearers for 1924—25 was considered.

3. The draft Annual Report for 1923 was read and passed.

4. The correspondence regarding the Society's account with the Colombo Apothecaries Company, was tabled. It was noted that the Company had admitted that the agreement made in 1916 was still in force and that they had offered to refund to the Society the sum of Rs. 750 in settlement of the Society's claim for overcharge on account of printing since 1916. The Honorary Secretary was authorized to accept this settlement.

5. An application from the Society's Clerk for an increase of salary was considered. It was agreed that he should be placed on a scale of Rs. 60 to Rs. 75 by annual increments at the rate of Rs. 5 a month.

6. A letter from Dr. R. L. Spittel offering to read a paper on "The Last of the Veddahs" was read and it was agreed that the proposal be accepted and that the lecture be arranged for June.

7. A letter dated 10th March, 1924, from the Acting Consul for Siam forwarding twenty-seven volumes of *Atthakathās* and *Pakarāṇas*.\* It was resolved to acknowledge the receipt of these books and to thank H. R. H. Prince Kitiyakara of Chandapuri, Siam, through the Consul for Siam for the valuable gift.

8. The date and business for the Annual General Meeting were discussed. It was decided to hold the Annual General Meeting on the 27th March, the Hon. Mr. C. Clementi to preside and the business to be as arranged previously.

\* LIST OF THE BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE R.A.S. LIBRARY

*By the Siamese Government.*

- i. Visuddhi Maggassa Nāma Pakarāṇa Visesassa. 2465, (in three parts).

Abhidhamma Piṭaka :

- ii. Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha Pāli Athavā Abhidhammattha Vibhāvinī Nāma Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha Tīkā. 2465.  
iii. Paramattha Dīpaṇī Nāma Dhātu Kathādi Pañchappaharaṇaṭṭha Kathā. 2465.  
iv. Sammoha Vinodani Nāma Abhidhammatthakathā bhaṅga Vaṇṇanā. 2465.  
v. Aṭṭhasālīni Nāma Abhidhammatthakathā Dhammasangani Vaṇṇanā. 2464.

Vinaya Piṭaka :

- vi. Samantapāsādikāya Nāma Vinayaṭṭhakathāya. Paṭhamo Bhāgo, 2462, (in two parts).

Sutta Piṭaka

*Anguttara Nikāya :*

- vii. Manoratha Pūraṇiyyā Nāma Anguttara Nikāyaṭṭhakathāya 2462, (in three parts).

*Dīgha Nikāya :*

- viii. Sumaṅgala Vilāsaniyyā Nāma Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathāya. 2462, (in three parts).

*Khuddaka Nikāya :*

- ix. Saddhammappakkhetikā Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Paṭhamo Bhāgo. 2464, (in two parts).  
x. Paramattha Dīpaṇī Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Ittiuttaka Vaṇṇanā. 2463.  
xi. Paramattha Dīpaṇī Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Udāna Vaṇṇanā. 2465.  
xii. Paramattha Jōtikā Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Khuddhaka Pāṭha Vaṇṇanā. 2463.  
xiii. Saddhammapakāsini Nāma Paṇṣambhidhānaggaṭṭhakathā. 2465.

*Majjhima Nikāya :*

- xiv. Paṇaṇca Sūdaniyyā Nāma Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—2463, (in three parts).

*Saṃyutta Nikāya :*

- xv. Sāratthapakāsiniyyā Nāma Saṃyutta Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—2463, (in three parts).



## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 27th, 1924.*

## Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala,  
MuhandiramHon. Sir J. Thomson Broom,  
Kt.Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea

Mr. Leslie de Saram

Mr. Felix de Silva

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Ven. F. H. de Winton

Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi

Mr. M. A. M. Ismail

Mr. Albert E. Jayasinha

Mr. R. W. Jayasingha

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana

Mr. N. H. Jinadāsa

Mr. Sam. J. C. Kadirgamar

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Mr. K. Kumaraswami

Mr. L. M. Maartensz

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. S. Pararajasingham

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera

Mr. R. C. Proctor,  
Mudaliyar

Mr. A. B. Rajendra

Dr. E. Roberts

Mr. R. Sagarajasingham

Mr. W. Samarasingha,

Atapattu Mudaliyar

Mr. John M. Senaveratna

Mr. C. Suppramaniam

Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha

Mr. K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.

Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,  
Mudaliyar

Mr. E. B. Wikramanayaka

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 17th October, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. On a motion proposed by Mr. John M. Senaveratna and seconded by Mudaliyar J. P. Obeyesekere, the following Office-bearers for 1924-25 were elected.

President: Hon. Mr. C. Clementi, C.M.G., *vice* the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt.; Vice-President: Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., *vice* Mr. R. G. Anthonisz; Members of Council: New Members.—Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara and Dr. R. L. Spittel, *vice* Mr. C. Rasanayagam, the Revd. Father S. G. Perera and Dr. A. Nell; Re-elected.—Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Dr. W. A. de Silva; Hony. Secretary and Hony. Treasurer (re-elected): Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.

3. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following Annual Report for 1923, which was unanimously adopted.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1923.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1923.

## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Four General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. In January, at the University College, Dr. Stella Kramrisch gave a lecture on "The Significance of Indian Art." On the 26th February, when the Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., presided at a General Meeting, and Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., the Archaeological Commissioner read a paper illustrated by lantern slides on "Tantrimalai." The Annual General Meeting was held in June, when His Excellency Sir William Henry Manning, G.C.M.G., Patron of the Society, presided. The Annual Report was read and Dr. W. A. de Silva read a paper entitled "Ola Manuscripts of the Ridi Vihāra." The last General Meeting for the year was held in October, with Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi in the chair. Dr. Andreas Nell read a paper on "The Captivity of Major Davie" by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi read a note on "The Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment."

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXVIII, No. 74, 1921, was issued early in the year. Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 75, 1922, which was in the press at the end of the year and was issued early in 1924, contained in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes:—

## Papers:—

(i) The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the early Greek Writers, by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.

(ii) Extracts relating to Ceylon from the *Historia Indiæ Orientalis* of M. Gotardus Arthus, published in 1608, translated from the Latin by Mr. J. R. Walters, C.C.S.

## Notes:—

(i) Note on an Ivory Panel in the Colombo Museum, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

(ii) Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, by the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

(iii) Excerpta Mādiviana, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, retired C.C.S.

(iv) Jottings from European Museums by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.

(v) *Conar* and *Alagakkónāra*, by the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

## ALU VIHĀRA EDITION OF THE BUDDHIST CLASSICS.

Papanca Sūdānī, the second part of the *Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭha Kathā*, edited by the Ven'ble L. Sri Dhammānanda Mahā Nāyaka Thero, Principal, Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena, Pelivagoda, the greater part of which has already been completed, will it is hoped be published in the latter part of 1924.

The Ven'ble Kahawé Ratanasāra Nāyaka Thero, Principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena, has undertaken to edit for the Society, the *Samanta Pāsādikā*, Commentary on the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the editing of which was originally entrusted to the late Sri Sānissara Nāyaka Thero. The work has already been begun and its publication will follow that of the *Papanca Sūdānī*, Part II. This will make the third of the series of the Buddhist Classics to be published in the *Alu Vihāra* Edition, for the



inauguration of which the Society and all who are interested in Pali are indebted to the generosity of Lord Chalmers, late Governor of Ceylon.

### MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 365 members of whom 43 are life members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the past year 26 new members were elected.

Lieut.-Col. T. G. Jayawardana, Mudaliyar Irving Gunawardana, Mr. A. B. W. Jayasekara, Revd. Sūriyagoda Sumangala, Litt.B., and Mr. G. L. Rūpasingha became life members.

### DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. Joris Dias, G. F. Forrest, C.C.S., Advocate J. H. Vanniasinkam, the Hon. Mr. O. C. Tillekeratne, Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Sir W. E. Davidson, K.C.M.G.

Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., late of the Ceylon Civil Service, a Vice-President and one of the Society's oldest members, and one who took a keen interest in the work of the Society, died in October. He joined the Society in 1881, and became a life member in 1888. He contributed the following papers and notes to the journal:—

- (i) The language of the Threshing-floor.
- (ii) Tamil Customs and ceremonies connected with Paddy cultivation in the Jaffna District.
- (iii) Note on the Hil-pen-kandura at Kandy.
- (iv) Buddhist Ruins near Vavuniya.
- (v) Archæology of the Vanni.
- (vi) Place names in the Vanni.
- (vii) Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon.
- (viii) Notes on Delft.
- (ix) Andrews' Embassy to Kandy.
- (x) The Captivity of Major Davie.
- (xi) Capt. T. A. Anderson.

He was the joint Editor of the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register from 1916 till the time of his death.

His literary works include:

- (i) List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon.
- (ii) Manual of the Vanni Districts.
- (iii) Dutch Architecture in Ceylon.
- (iv) Dutch Furniture in Ceylon.
- (v) Ceylon in Early British Times.

Sir W. E. Davidson, K.C.M.G., retired Governor of New South Wales late of the Ceylon Civil Service, joined the Society and became a life member in 1881. He was one of the Honorary Secretaries of this Society from 1884 to 1890.

### RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year:

The Right Revd. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., J. D. Brown, B.A., C.C.S., J. R. Walters, B.A., C.C.S., Revd. C. M. Ricketts, M.A., Revd. Medagama Goonaratana Thero, Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.M.G., V.D., Revd. E. V. Freeman, and the Revd. A. S. Beatty. The names of a number of members were removed from the roll for non-payment of their subscription.

## COUNCIL.

Under Rule 20, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna and Dr. S. C. Paul retired by seniority, Mr. F. Lewis and Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekera by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election. Drs. Paul and Hewavitarna were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by the election of Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and the Revd. Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

## HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, Secretary and Librarian of the Colombo Museum was elected as one of the Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers of the Society.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 198. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges:—

The American Oriental Society, New Haven; Royal Colonial Institute; Pali Text Society, London; l'École Française D'Extrême Orient, Hanoi; Royal Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo; Maha Bodhi Society, Colombo; Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Anthropological Society of Bombay, and Royal Asiatic Society North China.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following: The Archaeological Survey of India; The Government of India; The Government of Ceylon; Vajirañāna Library, Siam; Dr. S. C. Paul, Dr. A. Nell, Mr. C. Suppramaniam and Calcutta University.

## SPECIAL LIBRARY FUND.

An appeal which was made for funds for putting the Library into a satisfactory condition has resulted in a sum of Rs. 815 being collected. The following are the subscribers:—

	Rs.	Cts.
R. Sagarajasingham	250	00
S. Pararajasingham	250	00
Sir P. Arunachalam	100	00
Hon. Sir Marcus Fernando	50	00
Dr. W. A. de Silva	50	00
Lionel de Fonseka	50	00
C. E. A. Dias	20	00
A. M. Hocart	20	00
D. Nusseruvanjee	15	00
R. A. Wijayatunga	10	00

## CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

An invitation was received from the President of the Parent Society, to attend its Centenary Meetings held in July, 1923, and Messrs. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., were present at the meetings as representatives of this Society.



## ARCHAEOLOGY.

The Archaeological Commissioner (Mr. A. M. Hocart) has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following interesting summary of the work done by his department in 1923.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF 1923.

Brick work claimed the attention of the Archaeological Department for the first half of the year. The King's Palace was taken in hand at Polonnaruwa. It had been hoped to present a complete picture of the site; but this ambition had to be deferred as it was found that far too many out-buildings were still buried, some of them under vast mounds of debris which should never have been dumped there at all. As there are many ruins requiring immediate attention we could not neglect them for remains which at least are safe so long as they are buried, much as we should like to show at least one completed site.

More satisfaction is therefore derived from the conservation of such a building as Western Monastery C. in Anuradhapura, for this site was excavated with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired by the late Mr. Ayrton; it would have been conserved with equal thoroughness had he not been prematurely cut off. The undertaking has been taken up where he left off and is approaching completion.

The little cave temple at Kaludiya, Mihintale, was taken in hand as its state was precarious. It has suffered a complete transformation by the mere putting back into position of the pillars and beams, and the clearing and levelling of the site round it. Here again is a tantalizing site, and I am still divided between the claims of other ruins and the temptation to present a complete little monastery by the lake with its porches and flight of steps up to the sacred rock down to the water's edge on one side and down to the hermit's cell on the other. Quite apart from the antiquarian value of the site (for it is pure Anuradhapura style uncomplicated by Polonnaruwa additions) it has artistic possibilities like few sites in Anuradhapura or Polonnaruwa.

With the funds and energy mostly absorbed by conservation it is hardly to be expected that research should yield any very striking results: it has been mostly humdrum work of piecing together little bits of information. Even with the most intensive campaign of excavation it is doubtful whether Ceylon will ever produce anything sensational: the geology, the climate, the interests and building habits of the people are all against it. The Archaeologist in Ceylon must fight his way inch by inch; it is trench warfare, not a war of movement except possibly among the ancient harbours or cosmopolitan coast towns and of these sites only one as yet is known.

A summary of the research work up to the present is published in the first number of the Ceylon Journal of Science.

## SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION OF SINHALESE AND TAMIL INTO ENGLISH.

At the request of Government a sub-committee of the Council consisting of Mr. H. W. Codrington (Chairman) Mudaliyars A. Mendis Gunasekara, W. F. Gunawardhana and C. Rasanayagam, was appointed on the 21st October, 1920, to advise as to a more satisfactory scheme of transliteration than

that at the time in operation. The sub-committee prepared a fresh scheme based on that adopted for Indian Languages by the Parent Society, and Government was advised accordingly. This scheme it is understood is likely to be adopted by Government shortly for use in all scientific and literary works issued by Government or by any Government Department.

#### GENERAL.

The Society's position has considerably improved during the year. There is now a fair balance to its credit in the bank, which will enable the Society to publish its journal with greater regularity, and it is hoped that it will soon be possible to arrange for meetings at least once every three months and for quarterly issues of the journal. The journal for 1922 has already been published and that for 1923 has been sent to the Printer so that it can now be said that the journal is at last up to date. The library is also receiving attention, although the response made to the special appeal for funds for improving the library was somewhat disappointing, it has been possible to recommence binding the various valuable periodicals, etc., received from time to time by the Society, and to fill some of the gaps in the more important series of books possessed by the Society. The collection of subscriptions from members is still a difficult matter. The Council have with regret been obliged to write off the names of a number of members whose subscription had fallen into arrears, and the outstandings have consequently been considerably reduced thereby. The Council would particularly urge members to pay their subscriptions regularly and as early in the year as possible.

#### FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 2,950.36 to the credit of the Society, at the close of the year 1923. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 4,238.44 and the expenditure was Rs. 2,253.57.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund are annexed.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for auditing the Society's accounts.

The Chairman then said: Ladies and gentlemen, before we proceed further, I wish to move the following motion:—  
 "This Society resolves to place on record its appreciation of the services rendered to it by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and of the interest which he always showed in its work, and to convey to Lady Arunachalam and the members of the family of the late Sir Ponnambalam, an expression of its sympathy with them in their bereavement." Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, ladies and gentlemen, was one of the most distinguished sons of Ceylon. He was a brilliant pupil of the Royal College, Colombo, and then graduated with honours at Cambridge. On returning to Ceylon he entered the Ceylon Civil Service. In the Ceylon Civil Service he had a distinguished career, rising to be Registrar-General and sitting both in the Legislative and Executive Councils. He was also after his retirement associated in many local political movements. It is not on these matters, however, that I wish to speak this evening but of two other things. I wish to recall what Professor Maris recently said in another place, the fact that Sir Ponnambalam



on the 19th January, 1906, presided at a public meeting which was convened to propose the establishment in this Colony of a University. I think we must all deeply deplore the fact that Sir Ponnambalam's life was not spared for a few months longer so that he may see his object on a fair way to realization. However, I feel sure that in that University which was to be founded Sir Ponnambalam would have assigned a high place to a school of Oriental language and literature. In fact I think that in a pamphlet, which he wrote in 1906 adumbrating what he thought a University of this Colony should be, he proposed that there should be Professorships in Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese, and Tamil. No doubt, he felt strongly as I feel also, that it is as easy to study linguistic changes through Sanskrit and Pali, thence to Sinhalese, as it is from Sanskrit to Latin and thence to the modern Romance languages. Sir Ponnambalam, in the year 1887, joined this Society, became Life Member in 1902, was Vice-President of the Society from 1908 to 1914 and President from 1916 to 1924. He contributed many papers to the Society, among them the *Jñāna Vasishṭam* (the dialogue of Vasishṭha on Wisdom), the Kandyan Provinces, Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Siva Worship and Symbolism. His literary works included sketches of Ceylon History, the Ceylon Census in 1901, and Digest of Civil Laws. I feel that this Society ought certainly to place on record its sense of loss of a most distinguished President, and in thanking you on this, the first opportunity I have of so doing, for having honoured me by electing me to be the President of this Society, I can only say that it will be my endeavour to follow the high standard set by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera seconded.

The motion was passed in silence, all present standing.

Mr. A. Mahadeva on rising to read the paper written by his father, replied that he desired to render on behalf of Lady Arunachalam, his family, and himself, thanks for the very kindly references they had been good enough to make to his father. The paper had been intended to be read by him and on looking through his files, he (the speaker) found it and handed it over to Mr. Collins who had kindly had it printed for the purposes of the Society.

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Receipts and Payments Account of the  
**CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**  
 For the Year ended 31st December, 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..	965	49	Charges (For Printing, etc.) ..	1,205	44
Entrance Fee ..	105	00	Salaries ..	856	50
Govt. Grant ..	500	00	Sundries ..	191	63
Life Membership Commutations ..	349	50	Balance in Bank ..	2,950	36
R. A. S. Library Fund ..	815	00			
Sundries ..	8	19			
Annual Subscription for					
1924 Rs. 91-50					
1923 .. 1,800-25					
1922 .. 268-25					
1921 .. 120-75					
1920 .. 67-00					
1919 .. 31-00					
1918-1913 .. 82-00	2,460	75			
	Rs. 5,203	93		Rs. 5,203	93

Examined and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS.

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

## Receipts and Payments A/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund A/c. for the Year 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..	1,923	77	Fixed Deposit ..	1,200	00
			Balance in Bank ..	723	77
Rs.	1,923	77	Rs.	1,923	77

Examined and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hon'y. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

## Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund A/c. for the Year 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..	1,009	50	Balance in Bank ..	1,009	50
Rs.	1,009	50	Rs.	1,009	50

Examined and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hon'y. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.



## THE WORSHIP OF MURUKA or Skanda (the Kataragam God)

with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in His praise and  
Side-lights from Greek Religion and Literature

BY THE LATE

SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM, KT., M.A., CANTAB.,  
*President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).*\*

There is on the South-east coast of Ceylon a lonely hamlet known as Kataragama† in the heart of a forest haunted by bears, elephants and leopards and more deadly malaria. The Ceylon Government thinks of Kataragama especially twice a year when arrangements have to be made for pilgrims and precautions taken against epidemics. Hardly anyone goes there except in connection with the pilgrimage. General Brownrigg, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, visited this desolate spot in 1819 at the close of military operations in the Uva country, and seven decades later Sir Arthur Gordon (afterwards Lord Stanmore) who attended the festival in July 1889. Sportsmen are drawn to this region by the fame of its sport, but Kataragama itself is outside the pale of their curiosity. Few even of our educated classes know its venerable history and associations.

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\*Printed as received.

†29 miles from Hambantota, 87 from Badulla and 10½ from nearest post town Tissamahārāma; situated on the left bank of the Menikganga, which rises in Maussagolla Estate, 13 miles from Badulla.

It was already held in high esteem in the third century before Christ, and is one of the sixteen places\* said to have been sanctified by Gautama Buddha sitting in each in meditation. The *Mahāvansa* (XIX, 54), in enumerating those who welcomed the arrival at Anuradhapura of the Sacred Bodhi-tree from Buddha-Gaya in charge of Sanghamitta, the saintly daughter of the Indian Emperor Asoka, gives the first place after the King of Ceylon to the nobles of Kājara-gāma, as Kataragama was then called. It was privileged to receive a sapling (*ibid.* 62) of which an alleged descendant still stands in the temple court. About a third of a mile off is the Buddhist shrine of Kiri Vihare, said to have been founded by King Mahānāga of Mahagama, cir. 300 B.C.

Kataragama is sacred to the God Kārttikeya, from whom it was called Kārttikeya Grāma ("City of Kārttikeya"), shortened to Kājara-gāma and then to Kataragama. The Tamils, who are the chief worshippers at the shrine, have given the name a Tamil form, Katir-kāmam, a city of divine glory and love, as if from katir, glory of light, and kāmam, love (Sk. kāma), or town or district (from Sk. Grāma). By Sinhalese and Tamils alike the God Kartikeya is called Kandasāmi; by the Sinhalese also Kanda Kumāra (Kanda being the Tamil form of Sans. Skanda and Kumāra meaning youth), and by the Tamils Kumāra Swāmi, "the youthful god." More often the Tamils call him by the pure Tamil name Murukan, "the tender child." He is represented in legend, statuary and painting as a beautiful child or youth. The priests worship him with elaborate rites and ceremonies, the rustic with meal and blood offerings, the aboriginal Vedda invokes him also with dances in the primitive

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\*See note 1 in Appendix.

manner of the woods. The philosopher meditates on him in silence, adoring him as the Supreme God, Subrahmanya,—the all pervading spirit of the universe, the Essence from which all things are evolved, by which they are sustained and into which they are involved—who in gracious pity for humanity takes form sometimes as the youthful God of Wisdom, God also of war when wicked Titans (Asuras) have to be destroyed, sometimes as the holy child Muruka, type of perennial, tender beauty, always and everywhere at the service of his devotees.

“In the face of fear,” says an ancient and popular verse, “His face of comfort shows. In the fierce battle-field, with ‘Fear not,’ His lance shows. Think of Him once, twice He shows, to those who chant Muruka.”

“A refreshing coolness is in my heart as it thinketh on Thee, peerless Muruka. My mouth quivers praising Thee, lovingly hastening Muruka, and with tears calling on Thee giver of gracious helping hand, O warrior with *Tirumurukāruppada*\* Thou comest, Thy Lady in Thy wake.”

The scene of his birth is laid in the Himalayas. His birth and exploits are described with poetic embellishments in the Skanda Purana, an epic poem which in its present Sanskrit form dates from about the fifth century and in its Tamil version from the eighth.† “Dearest,” cries a Tamil poet of the 1st century, “whom the cool blue waters of the tarn on great Himalaya’s crest received from the beauteous hands of the peerless one of the five (elements, i.e., Agni, god of fire) and who in six forms by six (Naiads) nourished became one.” Though born on those distant northern mountains, his home now and for over twenty centuries has been in the south and his worship prevails chiefly among the Tamils.

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\* See note 2 in Appendix.

† See note 3 in Appendix.



He appears to have been the primitive God of the Tamils and to have passed with them to the south from their supposed early settlements in N. India. He is now little known or esteemed in the north, where he has given way to other gods as the Vedic gods Indra, Varuna, Agni gave way to Siva, Vishnu, etc., as in Greece Uranus gave way to Kronos and he to Zeus.\* Skanda had a great vogue in the north for centuries among the Aryan, Scythian, Mongolian, Hun and other invaders who succeeded the Dravidians and intermingling with them became the ancestors of the present inhabitants. In an Upanishad of about the ninth century B.C., he is described as giving spiritual instruction to the Rishi Nārada and is identified with the great sage Sanatkumara (Chāndogya Upanishad, VII. 26 2)† The image of the God Skanda appears in the coin of King Huvishka,‡ who in the beginning of the second century of the Christian era ruled over an empire extending from the Central Himalayas and the river Jamna to Bactria and the river Oxus. In the third century the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa wrote his classic poem on the god's birth (Kumāra Sambhava, "Birth of Kumara"). In the Meghadūta (Cloud-Messenger) of the same poet the hero, an exile from home, in sending a message to his sorrowing wife, bids the cloud halt at the god's shrine on Mount Devagiri (near Ujjain).

"There change thy form and showery roses shed  
 Bathed in the dews of heaven on Skanda's head,  
 Son of the crescent's God, whom holy ire  
 Called from the flame of all-devouring fire,  
 To snatch the lord of Swarga from despair  
 And timely save the trembling hosts of air."

\*There is trace of an earlier God than Uranus in the Woodpecker God Picus. See Aristophanes, *Birds*, 645 et. seq.

†The instruction, extending over many pages, ends thus: "the venerable Sanatkumara showed to Narada, after his faults had been rubbed out, the other side of darkness. They call Sanatkumara Skanda, yea Skanda they call him."

‡Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p.271.

In an interesting Sanskrit drama of the first century (attributed to King Shudraka and known as the *Mric chakatika*, "The Little Clay Cart," and in which the scene is laid in Ujjain) the god is invoked by a Brahmin burglar as the patron of his tribe,\* for he is the god of war and they are soldiers of fortune waging war against society by operations akin to mining and sapping in war. At the present day, in Bengal, he is worshipped one day in the year during the Durga puja festival and especially by those desiring offspring.

But wherever Tamil influence prevails, he is held in pre-eminent honour and dignity. The Tamils regard him as the guardian of their race, language and literature and are bound to him by special ties. He is reputed to have arrived in Lanka (Ceylon) in a remote age when it was a vast continent,—the Lemuria, perhaps, of the zoologists, stretching from Madagascar to near Australia—, and was ruled by a Titan, the terror of the celestials. In answer to their prayers the god was incarnated as the son of the Supreme God Mahādeva or Siva. Having wedded the daughter of their King Indra, he led their hosts to Lanka and destroyed the Titan† after mighty battles, his lance seeking the foe out in his hiding in the ocean. He was then granted forgiveness for his sins and was changed into a cock and a peacock‡, the former becoming the god's banner and the latter his charger. These events, with their moral significance of the expiation of sin, are yearly celebrated by festivals and fasts in Tamil lands in the month of Aippasi (October-November)

\*Note 4 in Appendix.

†Called Taraka by the Sanskrit poets, but Sūra or Sūrapatuma by the Tamils, who give the name Tāraka to a younger brother.

‡The peacock is therefore a sacred bird in India [as in Egypt and Greece]—a fact ignorance of which brings British sportsmen into collision with the people.



ending on the 6th day of the waxing moon (Skanda Shashthi). On such occasions the Tamil Kandapurānam is read and expounded with solemnity, also at times in private houses, such reading being deemed efficacious, apart from spiritual benefits, in warding off or alleviating disease and danger and bringing good fortune.

The lance, the instrument of chastisement and salvation, is understood to typify his energy of wisdom (Jñāna sakti, somewhat corresponding to the Christian *Sophia*) and is often the only symbol by which he is worshipped in the temples. In others he is represented with six faces, or aspects of his activities, and riding a peacock with his consorts Teyvayānai (Sk. Devasena) and Valli who are regarded as his energies of action and desire respectively (kriyā sakti and icchā sakti). The former was daughter of Indra, King of the celestials and Valli was a Vedda princess whom, according to Ceylon tradition, he wooed and won at Kataragama. She shares in the worship of millions from Cashmir and Nepal to Dondra Head, and the priests (kapuralas) of Kataragama proudly claim kinship with her. He deigned, according to theologians, to set the world a pattern of married life, for the due discharge of its duties leads to God no less surely than a life of renunciation.

In the Tamil epic the poet introduces a courting scene in which occurs this appeal:—

கோடியர் செடுவரைக் குறியர் மாது  
குடிய கணையநர் யனியுந் தாத்தமாய்ச்  
குடிய மலர்களாய்த் தேயப் பெற்றினேன்  
காடினனினிச்செயும் யண்ணம் யாயதே

[கத்தியுரணம்: யனிய மை திருமணம்]

“Highland maid of Kurava clan, could that I were the pool in which thou bathest, the perfumed unguents thou usest, the flowers thou wearest.”



It recalls Anakreon's lover:—

* ἐγὼ δ' ἔσοπτρον εἶην	ὅπως αἰεὶ βλέπῃς με
ἐγὼ χιτῶν γενοίμην	ὅπως αἰεὶ Φορῇς με
ὕδωρ θέλω γένεσθαι	ὅπως σε χρώτῃ λούσω
μύρων, γύναι, γενοίμην	ὅπως ἐγὼ σ' αλείψω
καὶ ταινίη δὲ μαστῶν	καὶ μάργαρον τραχήλῳ
καὶ σάνδαλον γενοίμην	μόνον ποσὶν πάττει με.

"I would be a mirror, that you would always look at me.

I would be your dress so that you would always wear me.

I would like to be water so that I could bathe your flesh.

I would be a perfume, dear, so that I could touch you.

And I would be the riband at your breast and the pearls  
about your throat.

And I would be your sandal that I might be trodden by  
your feet."

Some of the stories of his birth and childhood seem to have travelled far west and left traces in the religion and literature of ancient Greece, as I shall show later. He is said to have issued from the frontal eye of Siva as six sparks of fire. They were received by Agni, God of fire, and cast into the Ganges from which they passed into the Himalayan lake Saravana and there were transformed into six babes. These were suckled by the six nymphs of the constellation Pleiades (Krittikā) and became one on being fondly clasped by the Goddess Uma. He has many names: the Tamil Pingala Nigantu gives 37. Some of them are derived from the incidents I have mentioned: agni-bhū, fire-born, from the manner of his birth; Gangajā or Gangesa from the association with the Ganges, *Tam*. Kānkēsan (which gives the name to one of our Northern ports, Kankesan-turai, where his sacred image is said to have been landed

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\*Perhaps I should say "Anacreontic," for most of what has come down to us as "Anacreon" are imitations that bear in the dialect, the treatment of Erōs as a frivolous fat boy, the personifications, the descriptions of works of art the marks of a later age.

I am not sure I have quoted the Greek correctly, as I have not the text with me at present.

in the 9th century);\* Saravana Bhava "born in Saravana" (a Himalayan Lake) *Tam.* Saravanamuttu, pearl of Saravana; Kārttikeya, from his foster-mothers Krittikās (the Pleiades); Skanda, the united one, because the six babes became united into one.† The more probable derivation is from the root Skand, to leap. Skanda would then mean the Leaper of his foes. He is also called Shan mukha (*Tam.* Sammukam or Arumukam) as being six faced. Being Τὸ ὄντως ὄν or, the one and only Reality, he is called in Tamil Kandali கண்டலி, which is explained as "Reality transcending all categories, without attachment, without form, standing alone as the Self."‡ It is as such he is adored at Kataragama, no image, form or symbol being used (see page 248 *infra*). Kataragama thus holds a unique place among his numerous places of worship in India and Ceylon.

The worship of Skanda has suffered no decline in Ceylon from the introduction of Buddhism 24 centuries ago. The "Kataragam god" (Kataragam Deyyō) has a shrine in every Buddhist place of worship and plays a prominent part in its ceremonials and processions. In the great annual perahera at Kandy he had always a leading place: Buddha's Tooth, now the chief feature of the procession; formed no part of it till the middle of the 18th century, when it was introduced by order of King Kirti Sri Rajasinha to humour the Buddhist monks he had imported from Siam. The town of Kalutara on the southern bank of the Kalu ganga appears to have been specially associated with the god and still retains the name Velapura, "the city of the Lancer" (the lance being his favourite weapon). The opposite bank of the town is called Dēsestra Kalutara i.e.,

\*Yalpana Vaipava Mālai (Brito, p.11).

†Note 5 in Appendix.

‡Note 6 in Appendix.



Deva Satru or the enemies of the gods. These names are perhaps relics of an unsuccessful movement to limit his jurisdiction to the southern half of the Island, the defeated opponents being pilloried by his votaries as demons. His shrines, however, are now as common north as south of the river; both among Buddhists and Hindus he is the god *par excellence*.

King Dutugemunu in the first century B.C., according to ancient tradition, rebuilt and richly endowed the temple at Kataragama as a thank-offering for the favour of the god which enabled him to march from this district against the Tamil King Elala and, after killing him in battle, recover the ancestral throne of Anuradhapura. Dutugemunu's great great grandfather Mahanāga, younger brother of Devānāmapiya Tissa, had taken refuge in Mahagama in the Southern Province and founded a dynasty there, and Anuradhapura was for 78 years (with a short break) ruled by Tamil Kings of whom Elala (205-161 B.C) was the greatest. Dutugemunu conceived the idea of liberating the country from Elala. While his thoughts were intent on this design day and night, he was warned in a dream not to embark on the enterprise against his father's positive injunctions unless he first secured the aid of the Kataragam god. He therefore made a pilgrimage thither and underwent severe penances on the banks of the river imploring divine intervention. While thus engaged in prayer and meditation, an ascetic suddenly appeared before him inspiring such awe that the prince fainted. On recovering consciousness he saw before him the great god of war who presented him with weapons and assured him of victory. The prince made a vow that he would rebuild and endow the temple on his return and started on his expedition which ended in the defeat and death of Elala and the recovery of the throne.

The incidents associating the Kataragama god with Dutugemunu's\* victory naturally find no place in the Buddhist Chronicle, the Mahavansa, which glorifies him as a zealous champion of Buddhism. The tradition is confirmed by a Sinhalese poem called *Kanda Upata* "Birth of Kanda" for a M.S. copy of which I am indebted to Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara. Stanzas 41 and 46† show that King Dutugemunu invoked the aid of the god and received his help and built and endowed the temple at Kataragama in fulfilment of his vow. The royal endowment was continued and enlarged by his successors and by the offerings of generations of the people and princes of Ceylon. This old and once wealthy foundation has for years been in a woeful plight, from loss of the state patronage and supervision which it enjoyed under native rule and owing to the corruption and dishonesty of the Sinhalese trustees and priests in whom under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance its administration is vested. Its extensive estates have mostly passed into other hands, the property that remains is neglected, the temple buildings are in disrepair and the daily services are precarious. The Hindu pilgrims, however, continue to flock in thousands, pouring their offerings without stint and wistfully looking forward to the day which will see the end of the scandalous administration.

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\*Like most Ceylon Kings he was more of a Hindu than a Buddhist. An ancient MS. account of Ridi Vihara, which he built and endowed, states that on the occasion of its consecration he was accompanied thither by 500 Bhikkus (Buddhist monks) and 1,500 Brahmins versed in the Vedas (Paper read at the R.A.S. B. in June 1923 on "Palm Leaf MSS. in Ridi Vihara"). Throughout Ceylon History the Court religion was Hinduism and its ritual and worship largely alloyed and affected the popular Buddhism and made it very unlike the religion of Buddha.

†Quoted in note 7 in Appendix.



It is possible now to travel from Colombo comfortably by train to Matara and by motor to Hambantota and Tissamaharama. The last stage of about 11 miles beyond Tissamaharama is over a difficult forest-track and an unbridged river, the Menik ganga, which in flood-time has to be swum across there being no boats. In the thirties of last century, when good roads were scarce even in Colombo, my grandmother walked barefoot the whole way to Kataragama and back in fulfilment of a vow for the recovery from illness of her child, the future Sir Mutu Coomara Swamy. The hardships then endured are such as are yearly borne with the cheerfulness by thousands travelling on foot along the jungle tracks of the Northern, Eastern and Uva provinces and from India. Nearly all are convinced of the god's ever present grace and protection and have spiritual experiences to tell or other notable boons, recoveries from illness, help under trials and dangers, warding off of calamities. I once asked an elderly woman who had journeyed alone through the forest for days and nights if she had no fear of wild elephants and bears. She said she saw many, but none molested her. "How could they? The Lord was at my side." The verses cited on p.236 express the passionate feeling of many a pilgrim.

An old Brahmin hermit whom I knew well, Sri Kesopuri Swami, was for about three quarters of a century a revered figure at Kataragama. He had come there as a boy from a monastery in Allahabad in North India in the twenties of last century. He attached himself to the Hindu foundation (next the principal shrine) of the Teyva yānai amman temple and monastery. This institution belongs to a section of the Dasanāmi order of monks founded by the great Sankarāchārya of Sringeri Matt (Mysore). The lad after a time betook himself to the forest where he lived



alone for years, until he was sought out and restored to human society by a young monk (Surajpuri Swami by name), whom also I knew. The latter was a beautiful character, pious and learned, and with a splendid physique. He had been a cavalry officer of the Maharajah of Cashmere and, being resolved on a life of celibacy and poverty, found himself thwarted by his relatives who pressed him to marry and assume the duties of family life. Failing in their efforts, they brought the Maharaja's influence to bear upon him, whereupon he fled from home and travelled as a mendicant until he reached the great southern shrine of Rameswaram, well known to tourists and a great resort of pilgrims. There (he told me) he received a divine call to proceed to Sri Pada, the "Holy Foot," (Adam's Peak of English maps), which the Hindus revere as sacred to Siva and the Buddhists to Buddha. Here he was ordered to proceed to Kataragama, where he would find a hermit in the forest whom he was to wait upon and feed with rice. This he did and brought the hermit to the temple. He soon gave up rice or other solid food and confined himself to a little milk, hence he was known as Pāl Kuḍi Bāwa. A very saintly and picturesque figure he was, revered for his childlike simplicity and purity, spiritual insight and devotion, and much sought after for his blessings. He died in Colombo in July 1898 at a ripe old age.\* His remains were taken to Kataragama and a shrine was built over them by his votaries. His pupil Surajpuri survived him only a few months and died in November 1898.

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\*He had for over a year been residing in Colombo in order to complete an elaborate trust deed in respect of the temples and lands in his charge. This deed he executed in 9th March 1898 (No. 2317, J. Cadernan N.P.) Its preamble gives the history of his long connection with the temple and the nature of the succession from of old.

The old hermit told me of a saintly woman named Balasundari who lived there. She was the eldest child of a North Indian Raja, a boon from the Kataragama God in answer to a vow that, if blessed with children, the first born would be dedicated to his service. The vow was forgotten and a stern reminder led to her being brought by the father while still a child, and left at Kataragama with a suitable retinue. She devoted herself to a spiritual life. The fame of her beauty reached the King of Kandy, who sent her offers of marriage, which she rejected. He would not be baulked and sent troops to fetch her to the palace. But, said the hermit, the God intervened and saved her. He brought the British troops to Kandy, and the king was taken prisoner and deported to Vellore in South India. This was in 1814. The lady, thus saved from the king's rough gallantry, lived to a good old age, loved and revered and died at Kataragama after installing Mangalapuri Swami who died in 1873 and was succeeded by my venerable friend Kesopuri.\*

In 1818 a rebellion broke out in the Kandyan provinces, excited by the chiefs smarting under the loss of rights and privileges guaranteed by the Kandyan Convention of 1815. The rebellion was suppressed with severity, especially in the Uva province which (as Mr. White, C.C.S., states in his *Manual of Uva*, 1893) has scarcely recovered from the effects.

It was towards the end of these military operations that General Brownrigg, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, visited Kataragama. Dr. John Davy, F.R.S., (who was on the medical staff of the army from 1816 to 1820 and on the Governor's staff during this tour)

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\*See also his petition to the Government Agent, Uva, 23rd August 1897 where most of the facts are recorded. I am indebted to the Government Agent, Uva, for access to the document.



has in his "Account of Ceylon" (published 1821) described the tour in Uva and the visit to Kataragama. The Sinhalese Kapurālas were believed to be active participators in the rebellion. The custody of the principal temple was taken from them and delivered to the Hindu Monks and a military guard was left to protect them. When the guard was removed some time later, the Kapurālas resumed forcible possession of the temple. The Hindu monks, whose abbot impressed Davy greatly, continued to be in charge of the Teyvayānai anīman temple and monastery. Speaking of the journey to Kataragama, Davy says (p.403); "All the way we did not see a single inhabited house or any marks of very recent cultivation, nor did we meet a single native; dwellings here and there in ruins, paddy neglected, and a human skull, that lay by the roadside under a tree to which the fatal rope was attached, gave us the history of what we saw in language that could not be mistaken." Of Kataragama itself he says: "Kataragama has been a place of considerable celebrity on account of its Dewale which attracts pilgrims not only from every part of Ceylon, but even from remote parts of the continent of India and is approached through a desert country by a track that seems to have been kept bare by the footsteps of its votaries." The God, he says, is not loved but feared, and merit was made of the hazard and difficulty through a wilderness deserted by men and infested by wild beasts and fever. From the forlorn and ruinous condition of the place Davy anticipated that in a few years the traveller would have difficulty in discovering even the site. The anticipation has not been realized though over a century has now passed, the pilgrims are in fact more numerous and zealous than ever.

Robert Knox, who in the seventeenth century spent 20 years of captivity in Ceylon, in his "Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon" published in 1681 in London, in speaking of the Eastern Coast, says: "It is as I have heard, environed with hills on the landside and by sea not convenient for ships to ride; and very sickly, which they do impute to the power of a great god which dwelleth in a town near by they call Cotteragon, standing in the road, to whom all that go to fetch salt, both small and great, must give an offering. The name and power of this god striketh such terror into the Chingalayas that those who are otherwise enemies to the King and have served both Portuguez and Dutch against him, yet would never assist either to make invasion this way." In the great Perahera at Kandy, in Knox's time, there was no Buddha's Tooth, but "Allout neur dio,\* God and maker of Heaven and Earth, and Cotteragom Deyyo and Potting† dio, these three gods that ride here in company are accounted of all the others the greatest and chiefest." Davy himself says (p. 228): "Of all the gods, the Kataragam God is the most feared..... and such is the dread of this being that I was never able to induce a native artist to draw a figure of it." This unwillingness was rather due to the fact\* that at Kataragam there is no figure of the god. He is not worshipped there in any image or form. A veil or curtain never raised separates the worshippers from the Holy of Holies, where according to the best information there is only a casket containing a Yantra or mystic diagram engraved on a golden tablet in which the divine power and grace are believed to reside. It

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\*Alutnuwara Deiyyo, represented in the procession, according to Knox, by a painted stick.

†The Kataragam God and the Goddess Pattini.



is this casket which in the great festivals of July and November is carried in procession on the back of an elephant.\*

The history of this tablet, according to a naive tradition reported to me by Kesopuri Swami, is that a devotee from N. India Kalyāṇagiri by name, grieved by the god's prolonged stay in Ceylon, came to Katara-gama to entreat him to return to the North. Failing to obtain audience of the god, he performed for 12 years severe penances and austerities, in the course of which a little Vedda boy and girl attached themselves to him and served him unremittingly. On one occasion when, exhausted by his austerities and depressed by his disappointment, he fell asleep, the boy woke him. The disturbed sleeper cried out in anger, "how dare you disturb my rest when you know that this is the first time I have slept for years?" The boy muttered an excuse and ran pursued by him until an islet in the river was reached when the boy transformed himself into the God Skanda. The awe-struck hermit then realised that his quondam attendants had been the God and his consort Valli. Prostrating himself before them and praying forgiveness, he begged the God to return to India. The Goddess in her turn made her appeal (மகிஷியப் பிரம்மா) and begged that the god might not be parted from her. This the sage could not refuse. He abandoned the idea of the God's or his own return and settled down at Kataragama where he engraved the mystic diagram (yantra) and enshrined it there for worship in buildings constructed or restored with the help of the ruling king of Ceylon. When in due course the sage quitted his earthly body, he is believed to have changed into a

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\* Cf. The mystic chest employed in the celebration of the mysteries of Dionysos.

pearl image (mutu lingam) and is still worshipped in an adjoining shrine under that name (Mutulinga swami).

His pupil and successor was Jayasingiri Swami who received Governor Brownrigg at Kataragama and is admiringly described by Dr. Davy. He mentions as a special object of reverence the seat of "Kalana natha the first priest of the temple," Kalana natha being Davy's variation of Kalyāna Nātha alias Kalyāna giri. The seat is still very much as Davy described it: "The Kalana Madam is greatly respected and certainly is the chief curiosity at Kataragama; it is a large seat made of clay, raised on a platform with high sides and back, like an easy chair without legs; it is covered with leopards' skins and contained several instruments used in the performance of the temple rites; and a large fire was burning by the side of it. The room, in the middle of which it is erected, is the abode of the resident Brahmen. The Kalana Madima the brahmen said, belonged to Kalana Natha the first priest of the temple, who on account of great piety passed immediately to Heaven without experiencing death and left the seat as a sacred inheritance to his successors in the priestly office, who have used it instead of a dying bed; and it is his fervent hope that like them he may have the happiness of occupying it at once and of breathing his last in it. He said this with an air of solemnity and enthusiasm that seemed to mark sincerity and, combined with his peculiar appearance, was not a little impressive. He was a tall spare figure of a man whom a painter would choose out of a thousand for such a vocation. His beard was long and white; but his large dark eyes, which animated a thin regular visage, were still full of fire and he stood erect and firm without any of the feebleness of old age."



The Ceylon King who helped the saint Kalyānagiri in the construction of the temples is according to tradition Balasinha Raja, which I take it is equal to Bala Raja Sinha. The earliest Kings of the name Rajasinha were Raja Sinha I. (1581-1592) and Raja Sinha II (1634-1684), the patron of Robert Knox. There were four others of the name (with prefixes) from 1739 to 1815, when the dynasty came to an end. Considering the longevity of my friend Kesopuri Swami who spent 70 years of his life at Kataragama and was probably 90 at his death, that Kalyanagiri was reputed to be a much greater yogi, as also successor Jayasingeri, and that the practice of yoga is known to be favourable to health and long life, Kalyānagiri may be assigned to the time when Rajasinha II. was administering the kingdom for his father Sen rat, i.e., before 1634.

The Government Agent of Uva, Mr. Baumgartner, in his report to Government on the pilgrimage of July 1897, mentions that Taldena R.M., who had made an inventory of the temple property for the Provincial Committee found nothing in the casket, the G. A.'s authority being the R.M.'s son Taldena Kachcheri Mudaliyar who had so heard from his father. It may be that the R.M. expected to find an image and did not notice the thin golden plate on which such diagrams are engraved, or the priests may have hidden it as too holy for a layman's view. Davy speaks of the "idol being still in the jungle" (p.421) at the time of his visit in 1819, having been hidden away during those troublous times.

The earliest account of the worship of Muruka is to be found in an ancient Tamil lyric, the delight of scholars and often on the lips of others even if not fully understood. To appreciate its significance, religious, historical and literary, some idea of the early literature



of the Tamils is necessary. Ancient Tamil history has for its chief landmarks three successive literary Academies established by the Pandyan Kings of South India, who were great patrons of literature and art. In this institution were gathered together (as in the Académie Française founded by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635 and copied in other European countries) the leading literati of the time. The roll of members included royal authors of note and not a few women who were poets and philosophers. New works were submitted to the Academy for judgment and criticism and before publication received the hall mark of its approval. The Academy was the jealous guardian of the standard of literary perfection and showed little mercy to minters of base literary coinage.

The first two Academies go back to an almost mythical period and their duration is counted by millenniums. The Tamils having a good conceit of themselves and a passionate love (equalled in modern times, I think, only by the French) of their mother tongue, have assigned to it a divine origin and made their Supreme God Siva the president of the first Academy and his son Muruka or Skanda a member of the Academy and the tutelary god of the Tamil race. Both deities are represented as appearing on earth from time to time to solve literary problems that defied the Academy. The seats of the first and second Academies (old Madura and Kapādapuram), were the two first capitals of the Pandyan dynasty and are said to have been submerged by the sea.

The Pandyan Kingdom was already ancient at the beginning of the Christian era. In the 4th century B.C., Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus at the court of King Chandragupta at Pātaliputra, speaks of the country as ruled by a great queen called Pandaia. Then and for some centuries afterwards the Pandyan country

covered the greater part of the Madras Presidency and included the native states of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore, and was bounded on the North by the sacred hill of Venkadam (Tiruppati, 100 miles N. W. of Madras) and on all other sides by the sea. The southernmost point Kumari (Cape Comorin of the English maps) is called after the "Virgin" Goddess Kumari, another name of Umā or Sivakāmi, consort of Siva.

"Mother of millions of world-clusters,  
Yet Virgin by the Vedas called."

Her temple crowns the headland as it did in the time of the Greek geographer Ptolemy (140 A.D.) and earlier. He calls it *Κομαρία ἄκρον*. In the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" (cir. 80 A.D.), a manual of Roman or rather Egyptian trade with India and a record of the author's observations and experiences as merchant and supercargo, it is stated, "After this there is in the place called Komar, where there is a βράριον (probably Φρούριον a fort or ἱερον a temple) and a harbour where also people come to bathe and purify themselves. . . it is related that a goddess was once accustomed to bathe there." The worship at the temple and the bathing in the sacred waters of the sea still continue.

At the time of the first and second Academies the land extended far south of Kumari, which was then the name not of a headland but of a river. South of it up to the sea were 49 districts whose names are given and which were intersected by a river called Pahruli. All these are said to have been swallowed by the sea. There are poems extant written before the submersion as e.g., Puranānūru 9, where the poet wishes his patron the Pandyan King Kudumi long life and years more numerous than the sands of the Pahruli river. Traces have been discovered of a submerged forest on this coast. Was this part of the submerged Lemurian



Continent referred to at p.238 or a later submersion? One or other of the submersions which destroyed the first and second Academies may have been identical with that recorded on the opposite coast of Ceylon in the *Mahāvansa* Ch. XXXI as having occurred in the reign of Kelani Tissa (cir. 200 B.C.), and which, according to the *Rajāvaliya*, destroyed "100,000 large towns, 970 fishers' villages and 400 villages inhabited by pearl fishers." This may be deemed an exaggeration, but the Meridian of Lanka of the Indian Astronomer, which was reputed to pass through Ravana's ancient capital in Ceylon, actually passes the Maldive Isles, quite 400 miles from the present western limit of Ceylon. [An earlier submersion in the reign of Panduwasa (cir. 500 B.C.), is also recorded in the *Rajāvaliya*.]

Only the names of the poets of the first Academy and fragments of their works have come down to us, and one whole work of the second Academy composed in the earlier period, with extracts from a few works and the names of many others. The surviving work, the *Tolkappiyam*, is a standard work on Grammar (a term covering a much wider range than in Western languages) and supplanted the *Agastiyam*, the grammar of the first Academy. The *Tolkappiyam* still holds a position of pre-eminent authority, and is of peculiar interest to the antiquarian and historian by reason of the light it throws on the customs and institutions of ancient Tamil land. Many works of a high order of merit are extant of the third Academy, including the well-known *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar (which has been translated into many Western languages) and the poem about which I propose to speak to you, *Tirumuruk-arrup-padai*.

The author Nakkirar lived about the first century and was a member of the third Academy, which had its seat in the third Pandyan capital Madura, Ptolemy's

“royal Medoura of Pandion” and still an important religious, literary and commercial centre. It was about this time that the first recorded embassy from the East reached imperial Rome. It came from a king of this line and is referred to by a contemporary writer Strabo (cir. 19 A.D.) In opening his account of India, he laments the scantiness of his materials and the lack of intercommunication between India and Rome; so few Greeks, and those but ignorant traders incapable of any just observation, had reached the Ganges, and from India but one embassy to Augustus, namely from one King Pandion or Porus had visited Europe (Geog. Indica XV, C. I. 73 et seq.). The name Porus was apparently a reminiscence from the expedition of Alexander the Great. The embassy to Augustus Suetonius attributes to the fame of his moderation and virtue which allured Indians and Scythians to seek his alliance and that of the Roman people (Augustus, C. 21). Horace alludes to it in more than one ode. Addressing Augustus, he says

Te Cantaber non ante domabilis  
 Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes  
 Miratur, O tutela præsens  
 Italiae dominaeque Romæ (Od. iv. 14.)  
 “Thee Spanish tribes, unused to yield,  
 Mede, Indian, Scyth that knows no home  
 Acknowledge, Sword at once and Shield  
 Of Italy and queenly Rome.”

A similar reference is made in the Ode to Jupiter (Od. 1.12).

The *Tiru muruk arrup padai* is a poem of the third Academy and commences the anthology known as the Ten Lyrics (பத்தப் பதிகம்) and is in praise of the god Muruka. It belongs to a class of poems known in classic Tamil as *Arrup padai* (அர்ப்புப் பதிகம்), literally “a guiding or conducting,” from *aru*, way, and *padut*, to cause. Various kinds of this class of poem are mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*. A poet,



musician, minstrel or dancer, on his way home with gifts from a patron, would direct others to him and make it the occasion for singing his praise. Or, as in this poem, one who has received from his patron-god more precious spiritual boons tells others of his good fortune and how they too may win it.

"If, striving for the wisdom that cometh of steadfastness in righteous deeds, thou with pure heart fixed upon His feet desirest to rest there in peace. then by that sweet yearning—the fruit of ancient deed—which spurneth all things else, thou wilt here now gain thy goal" (v.v. 62-68):

is the central idea of the poem. He is regarded as in his essence formless and beyond speech and thought, but assuming forms to suit the needs of his votaries and accepting their worship in whatever form if only heartfelt. This is indeed the normal Hindu attitude in religious matters and accounts for its infinite tolerance. All religions are ways, short or long, to God. "The nameless, formless one we will call and worship by a thousand names in chant and dance," the Psalmist *Mānikka-vāchakar* cries. God, under whatever name or form sought, comes forward to meet the seeker and help his progress onwards through forms suitable to his development. "They who worship other gods with faith and devotion, they also worship me," it is declared in the *Bhagavad Gita* (IX, 21). The merit claimed for the Hindu religious system is that it provides spiritual food and help for the soul in every stage of its development; hence it is significantly called the Ladder Way (*Sopāna mārga*).

The God *Muruka* has many shrines and modes of worship. Some of them are described in this poem, which thus serves, as its name indicates, as a "Guide-

to the holy Muruka." The shrines are all in Tamil land. The first shrine mentioned is Tirupparankunram, a hill about 5 miles southwest of Madura.

"He dwelleth gladly on the Hill west of the Clustered Towers—gates rid of battle, for the foe hath been crushed and the ball and doll defiantly tied to the high flag-staff are still,—faultless marts, Lakshmi's seats, streets of palaces—

"He dwelleth on the Hill where swarms of beauteous winged bees sleep on the rough stalks of lotuses in the broad stretches of muddy fields, they blow at dawn round the honey-dripping *neital* blooms and with the rising sun sing in the sweet flowers of the pool as they open their eyes" (v.v. 67-77).

The other shrines specifically named are "Alaivāi (wave-mouth v. 125), now known as Tiruchendur, a shrine on the southern coast about 36 miles from Tinnevely; Āvinankudi (v.176), now known as Palanimalai (Palni Hills), about the same distance from Dindigul and a well-known hill station; Tiru-Erakam (v.189), now called Swāmimalai, a hill about 4 miles from Kumbakonam. Each of the shrines with its appropriate incidents and associations is the subject of a little picture—making a sort of cameo or gem strung together in this poem forming a perfect whole (v.v. 1-77, 78-125, 126-176, 177-189). Three of the shrines are situated amid mountains and forests for they are dear to Muruka. One section (v.v. 190-217) describes his "Sport on the Mountains" and another (v. 218 *ad fin.*) describes him as dwelling in "Fruit-groves" and worshipped by forest tribes. The shrine of Kataragama is understood to be included in the last. The poet enumerates many other places and ways in which the god manifests himself:—festivals accompanied with goat sacrifices and frenzied dances, groves and woods, rivers and lakes, islets, road-junctions, village-meetings, the kadamba tree (*eugenia racemosa*), etc.,



and lastly wherever votaries seek him in prayer (v.v. 218-225), recalling Jesus' saying (Matth. XVIII. 20) "where two or three are assembled in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Muruka would thus appear to be a deity in whom were amalgamated many legends and traditions, many aspects of religion and modes of worship, primitive and advanced, and to embody the Hindu ideal of God immanent in all things and manifesting Himself wherever sought with love.

Muruka means tender age and beauty and is often represented as the type of perennial youth, sometimes as quite a child. There is in Vaattiswaran temple near Tanjore an exquisite figure of the child-god. He is also worshipped in the form of a six faced god, the legendary origin of which form I have already given (pp.240, 241). Verses 90-118 describe the part played by each face and each of his twelve arms and show that this form was a personification of various divine aspects and powers.

"One face spreadeth afar rays of light, perfectly lighting the world's dense darkness; one face graciously seeketh his beloved and granteth their prayers; one face watcheth over the sacrificial rites of the peaceful ones who fail not in the way of the Scriptures; one face searcheth and pleasantly expoundeth hidden meanings, illumining every quarter like the moon; one face, with wrath mind filling, equality ceasing, wipeth away his foes and celebrateth the battle-sacrifice; one face dwelleth smiling with slender waisted Vedda maid, pure-hearted Valli." He is thus worshipped as the god of wisdom by those who seek spiritual enlightenment, as the god of sacrifice and ritual by the ritualists, as the god of learning by scholars, as the giver of all boons, wordly and spiritual, to his devotees. In punishing the Titans, his divine heart (according to the commentator) seemed for the moment to deviate from the feeling

of equality towards all his creatures. But the punishment was really an expression of his fatherly love for his children. In the same way the wedding of Valli by the god was to set to mankind a pattern of family life and duty.

**Note 1.** The fifteen other sacred places are:—1. Mahiyangana (Bintenne in Uva on the right bank of the Mahawelliganga), 2. Nāgadīpa (said to be in the Northern Province), 3. Kēlaniya (near Colombo), 4. Sri-pāda (Adam's Peak), 5. Divaguha (perhaps the same as Bhagava lena near Adam's Peak), 6. Dīghāvapi (Nākha Vihare in Batticaloa District near Sengapadi), 7. Mutiyangana (in Badulla town), 8. Tissamahāvihāra (in Hambantota District): with the 6 following places in Anurādhapura city, 9. Mahābodhi, 10. Mirisvettīya, 11. Ruwanvellsēya, 12. Thupārāma, 13. Abhayagiri, 14. Jetavana, and lastly, 15. Selacetiya at Mihintale near Anurādhapura.

**Note 2.** அஞ்ச முகத்தோன்றி லாறு முகத்தோன்றும்  
யெஞ்ச மரிசஞ்சலென யெஞ்சுற்று—கெஞ்சி  
லொருகா ளினைக்கி விருகாழ் தோன்று  
முருகாயென் றெதுவார் முன்  
ஒருமுருகா யெனநென்னுள் ளக்குகிர வயத்தடனே  
யருமுருகா யென்றுயரப் யெருவாரீர்பத் தையித்தனே  
தருமுருகா யென்றுநான் புலம்பாரீர்பத் தையன் முன்னே  
கருமுருகா'ற்றுப் படையுடனே யருஞ் சோயகனே

**Note 3.** The Sanskrit epic *Skanda Purana*, which is said to contain a hundred thousand stanzas, has no existence in a collective form. Fragments in shape of Sanhitas, Khandas, Mahatiuyas are found in various parts of India. The Tamil poem by Kachechiappa Swami of Kānchi is said to be based on the first six Khandas of the Sivarahasya Khanda, the first of twelve sections of the Sankara mahatiuya of the Sanskrit epic, and is a work of high literary merit, Wordsworthian in chaste simplicity of style, but with an elevation and dignity rarely attained by him.



**Note 4.** Extracts from the burglar's soliloquy "Here is a spot weakened by constant sun and sprinkling and eaten by salt petre rot. And here is a pile of dirt thrown up by a mouse. Now Heaven be praised! my venture prospers. This is the first sign of success for Skanda's sons. Now, first of all, how shall I make the breach? The blessed Bearer of the Golden Lance has prescribed four varieties of breach (here follows their description and the choice). I will make that . . . . Praise to the boon conferring God, to Skanda of immortal youth! Praise to him, the Bearer of the Golden Lance, the Brahmins God, the Pious! Praise to him, the Child of the Sun! Praise to him the teacher of magic, whose first pupil I am! for he found pleasure in me and gave me magic ointment.

With which so I anointed be,  
No watchman's eye my form shall see;  
And edged sword that falls on me  
From cruel wounds shall leave me free.  
Act, III.

**Note 5.** சரவணத்தினிற் தனது சேயாறுகுத்தியை  
மிருகரக்காலன் புடனெடுத்தனன் புல்லித்  
பிருமுகக்கனே தாறுபன்னிற் புயஞ்சேர்த்த  
வருவமொன்றெனச் செய்தன னூலக மூன்றுகடயான்  
எக்கதச்சத்திக னூயிரெலா மொடுக்குறுமெல்லி  
மூத்தபொல மொன்றுமியே கடியமுறைபொ  
லத்தமிக்கதோர் மூவிருவடிவு மொன்றுமீ  
கத்தனென்று பேர்பெற்றனன் கவுரிநன்குமான்  
(சத்தபுராணம், சரவணப்படலம், 20-21).

"In Saravanai's waters her child's six forms she\* lovingly clasped with both arms and lifted and of his six beauteous faces and twice six shoulders she made one form, she, the mistress of the triple world.

"As the diverse energies of our Father, at the involution of all things, become one as before, so the twelve forms of Gauri's\* son became one and he received the name Kandan."

\*i.e., Uma, Consort of Siva and his inseparable energy, (Sakti) through whom alone He (regarded as the absolute) acts. "Joined to Sakti, Siva becomes Sakta (i.e., able to act), without her he cannot even move," sings Sankaracharya in a famous hymn.

**Note 6.** கந்தழி, = ஒருபற்றுக் கோடின்றி அருவாசித் தாமே  
 சிறகுத் தத்துவங்கடத்த பொருள்  
 (கச்சிஞ்சுர்க்கெனியர்).

**Note 7.** My grandfather A. Coomara Swamy, Raja Vasal Mudaliyar, of the Governor's Gate and member of the Legislative Council on its first establishment (representing there till his death the Tamils and Muhammadans of this Island), under the orders of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief General Brownrigg, escorted the King and his queens to Colombo, (then a very arduous journey), and had charge of the arrangements for their stay here and their embarkation for India. In the year 1890 at Tanjore, in the Madras Presidency, I had the honour of being presented to the last surviving queen of Kandy. In spite of very straitened circumstances, she maintained the traditions and ceremonial of a Court. Speaking from behind a curtain, she was pleased to welcome me and to express her appreciation of services rendered to her family since their downfall. A lineal descendant of the Kings of Ceylon held till a few years ago a clerkship in the Registrar-General's department, a living testimony to the revolutions of the wheel of fortune.

6. The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera read the following note on "The Socketed Clay Piping from Kótté (Jayawardhanapura, circa 1415-1457):

Jayawardhanapura, modern Kótté, was founded by the Minister Alakésvara during the reign of Wikkrama Báhu III. (1356-1371). The contemporary "Nikáya Saṅgrahawa" states:

"He issued commands through the.....obedient and faithful Governors (*Maṇḍalikas*) in his service, and nigh unto the haven called Colombo he caused a mighty deep and broad ditch to be dug dreadful to behold, like the sides of a steep rock, right round the village Dárugráma, which was situated in the midst of a lake and protected on all sides by a never failing stream of water and he caused to be adorned



with different devices like a creation of Viśwakarma the intervening spaces on the summit of the great rampart wall, which for the sake of stability had been built entirely of stone from the base of the ditch up to the coping on the wall. Thus he built a famous fortress called 'Abhinawa Jayawardhana,' well fortified with *idangini*, *pulimukham* (Tiger faces), *bhūmiantaṭṭu*, *aṭṭāla* (towers) and *vattavēṭṭin* which were constructed at intervals. He caused to be built on the summit of the great wall of the city for the protection of its four sides four separate holy places dedicated to each of the four respective god-kings who protect the four quarters of Laṅkā, Kihireḷi Upulwan, Samanboksai, Vibhishana and Kanda Kumāra and he commanded that the temple services and festivals should be maintained without intermission with every description of music, such as the music of the drum and pipe and with dancing and singing. Having filled it with all manner of riches, he peopled the city with a great multitude."

This city became the seat of Government under Bhuvaneka Báhu V. and Wijaya Báhu VI. who was captured by the Chinese under Ching Ho, and it rose to the highest pitch of greatness under Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI. (1415-1467) the last great monarch of a united Laṅkā. From a bare fortress it was converted into a magnificent capital with stone baths and cisterns, spacious streets and fine edifices. Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. received here the Portuguese Ambassadors (c. 1505) and it continued to be the capital till c. 1560, when the Portuguese dismantled the fortress, demolished the Daḷadá Máligāwa and removed the last King Dom João Dharmapāla (1540-1597) to Colombo. Since then the City rapidly fell into decay, the tropical jungle grew space, and Elephant Kraals were held in the neighbourhood by the Dutch in the XVIIth century.

Later, the City was re-occupied and became an important religious and educational centre under the Dutch, which it continued to be under the British by

its selection by the early Missionaries as the seat of their Educational Establishment which was the fore-runner of the Colombo Academy (Royal College.)

Since the place became repopulated a consistent course of vandalism destroyed what Portuguese and Dutch invaders had spared, and there is scarce one stone left upon another to mark the site where the mighty Parákrama held Court. In an article originally contributed to the "Observer" many years ago the writer stated. "The pickaxe of a villager now and again throws up a clay pipe belonging to the system of underground pipes for supplying water to the City, and no sooner it is thrown up than it is broken. If effective steps are not taken to check this vandalism, there will, in a short time, be nothing left from which, as I have said before, even to trace the ground plan of the old Capital, much less to judge of the style of architecture or the way that the pipes had been laid." ("Observer," 9th November, 1900.)

The pipes of baked clay produced to-day were found in a gentle gradient a few feet underground leading down at right angles from the principal thoroughfare of the ancient City. They rested upon small pieces of granite and were fitted to each other, having at intervals a piece of grooved clay piping different from the others, a specimen of which is laid on the table. The whole track was not laid bare for obvious reasons. The sites of temples and public buildings are now private property, and you strike against these pipes in the most unlikely places. I am not aware of a discovery of a similar character in any other part of the Island. A survey plan of Kótté has been made recently by Mr. MacCarthy at the instance of the Colombo Sanitary Board in which the ancient sites are marked. If the plan could be further amplified by locating the trail of the pipes wherever known it may help us to determine whether they were laid merely for drainage purposes or for the supply of water to the houses as well.

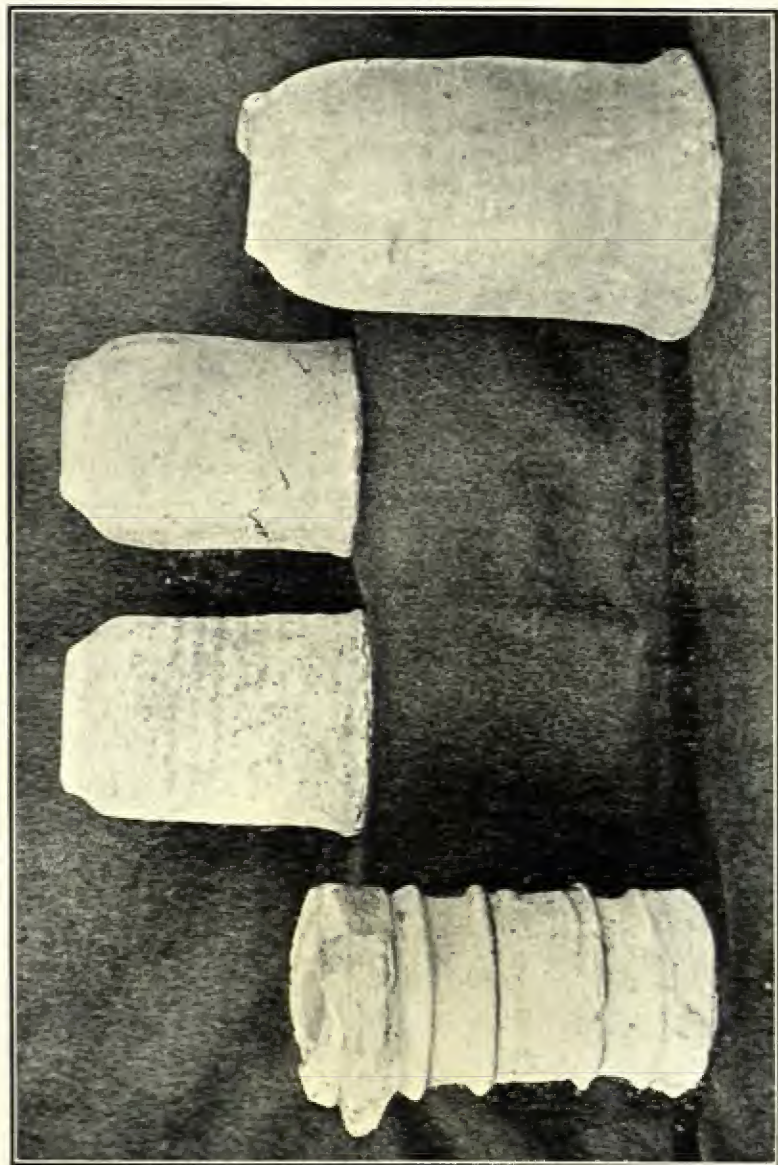


The following extract from Lethaby's *Architecture*, p. 77, proves that clay piping of the kind under consideration was a feature not unknown to Antiquity.

"Greek legend seemed to point to Crete as being an important centre of the Pre Homeric Age. In 1900 Sir Arthur Evans bought land on the site of Knossos, where he soon excavated a complex of buildings which has proved to be a vast palace—almost certainly the "Labyrinth of Minos." Here were halls with columns of wood larger above than below (a quite reasonable thing in framed construction, like the "legs" of a modern table), a portico with a double row of six pillars, wide stairs rising in many flights, and bath-rooms. The chambers had plastered walls painted with scenes or ornament, and sometimes modelled in low relief before painting, and many of the walls had dadoes of gypsum (alabaster) slabs. Evidence was found for windows. There was walling of fine masonry and of rubble set in clay, also of crude bricks, and some burnt brick has been found. The floors were paved or covered with hand plaster. (That of a hall at Tiryns was painted with fish on a blue ground.) The streets were paved and had built drains, and socketed pipes for drainage or water supply have also been found."

7. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, seconded by Dr. Paul moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Mahadeva and to the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

8. Mr. C. H. Collins proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.



SOCKETED CLAY PIPES FROM KOTTÉ (JAYAWARDANAPURA.)





## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 15th, 1924.*

## Present :

The Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.	
Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, Kt.	Mr. K. Kumaraswami
Mr. W. H. Biddell	Mr. L. M. Maartensz
Mr. R. A. Cader	Mr. T. R. Mitchell
Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea	Mr. S. A. Pakeman
Mr. Dadabhoy Nusseruvanjee	Mr. E. Reimers
Revd. J. P. de Pinto	Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn,
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton	B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. Thomas Gracie	Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
Mr. M. A. M. Ismail	Mr. C. Suppramaniam
Mr. Albert E. Jayasinha	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe	Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,
Mr. C. E. Jones, B.A., C.C.S.	Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary  
and Treasurer.

Visitors: 11 ladies and 13 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1924, were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.
3. Dr. R. L. Spittel delivered a lecture entitled "The Last of the Veddahs" illustrated by lantern slides.
4. Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, seconded by the Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn, moved votes of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chair.



## VIJAYA BĀHU'S INSCRIPTION AT POLONNARUWA


By C. RĀSANĀYAGAM MUDALIYĀR, C. C. S.

This is the only well preserved Tamil inscription in the Island. A clear and distinct photograph of the inscription is published with Mr. Bell's archaeological report of 1911. For want of Grantha characters the Government Printer has substituted certain fantastic symbols, so that the Tamil rendering of the inscription published with the report is neither correct nor readable. The translation too is not quite correct, and hence the necessity to have this inscription published again, with two renderings one in Tamil with the Grantha characters inserted in Siphalese, and the other in Roman characters following the method adopted by Government for the system of transliteration. An English translation is appended with notes.

The first five lines are in Sanscrit and are almost wholly written in Grantha characters. These lines were deciphered by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and translated by Rambukwelle Siddhartha Thero.

The remaining lines are in Tamil but interspersed with Sanscrit words and Grantha characters, as was the custom in South India in early days. Between the 7th and the 15th centuries the Brahman influence in Tamil countries was so predominant that a knowledge of Sanscrit became very essential for the purpose of literacy. The kings too having come under the influence of the Brahmans gave the greatest encouragement to the study of Sanscrit, so much so that original compositions in Tamil were neglected and translations of Sanscrit works became very popular.

The influence of Sanscrit over Tamil was also due to the Jains whose original literature was altogether in Sanscrit. Since their advent to South India and the consequent conversion of the people to Jainism, many a Tamil work was written by their monks, which led to the introduction of a large number of Sanscrit words into the Tamil language and to the promiscuous use of the Grantha characters. They also introduced a new system of script, which is a mixture of Tamil and Grantha characters, in their prose writings and called it "Maṇipravāḷam" (a string of pearls and corals). This inscription is written in the Maṇipravāḷam style. The Tamil influence in Ceylon during the 86 years preceding the accession of Vijaya Báhu, under the rule of the Chóla kings must have been so permeating that when Vijaya Báhu became king his environments and surroundings would have been practically Tamil. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the Vélaikkára army composed altogether of Tamils, should have caused the inscription to be inscribed in Tamil and in the Maṇipravāḷam style.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The sign for the vowel *ai* (ஐ) in animated consonants is represented by double *kombus* one placed over the other thus . The sign for *i* long as represented by a loop at the end of the curves placed over the letters, and that for *e* and *o* long similarly represented in *kombus* are absent. These letters should be read long or short according to the context. The *pulli* which denotes a consonant is used indifferently, some letters being inscribed with the *pulli* and some without. There are also a few spelling peculiarities and mistakes. *Tuvivattu* for *dvipattu* (l: 6), *saturi* for *catturu* or *satruñ* (l: 7), *aiñpattayyaṇḍu* for *aimpattaiyaṇḍu* (l: 13), *Uttorula* (l: 19) and *Uturula* (l: 26) for *Uttarola* (Mhv: chap: lvii. v: 20), *mūlai* for *mūlai* (ll: 19 & 26), *óro* for *órór* (ll: 33 & 34), and



*tórikku* for *tórukku* (1: 47) are some notable instances. The transcription in Roman characters gives the correct reading.

According to this inscription the Vélaikkára army undertook to protect and maintain the shrine of the Tooth Relic caused to be built by king Vijaya Báhu. The term Vélaikkára appears not to have been properly understood. Mudaliyar Wijesinha the translator of the Mahāvamsa thought that they were a body of mercenary soldiers (Mhv: p: 123, foot note), and this unwarranted interpretation has misled even the Madras Epigraphist. (S.I.I., vol: ii, pt: v & M.E.R., for 1912). The late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Row, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, has, in a learned article contributed to the Sen Tamil (vol: xvi, pp.134-143), by references quoted from Tamil works and inscriptions, cleared the ground for the elucidation of the term. From time immemorial it was a custom in India and perhaps in Ceylon too, for loyal and faithful servants who failed to carry out the orders of their king or of their master, to kill themselves, and it was not uncommon for kings to have soldiers who took the oath that they would do away with their lives if any misfortune befell the king. These loyal servants and soldiers considered themselves equal to the chaste wife who committed *sati* on her husband's funeral pyre. These were called Vélaikkáras. The acts of self-sacrifice committed by these Vélaikkáras are known not only from Tamil classics but also from inscriptions and sculpture. In the picture of a panel published in the Epigraphia Indica (vol: vi, p.41) which contains the representation of a dying monarch, will be seen an officer of his, who is standing by ready to plunge his knife into his vitals as soon as the king expires. There is a Tamil inscription at Sri Rangam in which the oath taken by a Kaikola servant that he would die with his master and that if he failed, he would give his wife to the Pariahs and take his own mother to wife, is

inscribed. It will be seen from the nature of the oath, that he considered the shame of his wife and of his mother greater than his own life. Vows by soldiers to give up their lives for the victory of their king in battle and the accomplishment of such vows before the temples of *Kāli* or *Pidāri* were not uncommon in those days. The custom is known as *vañcinam* in Tamil classics (see *Tolkāppiyam*—*Poruḷadikāram*) and as *Harikari* in Japan. The fact that General Oyama committed *harikari* on hearing of the death of the Emperor a few years ago is well-known. The *Vēḷaikkāras* of Vijaya Báhu though composed of different castes had, perhaps taken the oath that they would die for their king. The statement in line 36 of the inscription that they would protect the temple of the Tooth Relic even at the risk of their lives, and the words in lines 45 and 46 (*mātantirattukkup-piḷaitta paḍaip-pakaiyan*) “he who offends against the *Mātantra*” (by not keeping his oath) “and thus becomes an enemy of the army”—an offence which is considered equal to one of the graver sins—clearly show their determination, and that they did not value their lives more than their oath. That such custom was not new to Ceylon would be known from the fact that during the reign of Sépa II., when prince Mahinda, fighting against the forces of the Pāṇḍyan king, unable to bear the ignominy of defeat cut off his own head in the field of battle, a large number of his faithful soldiers followed his example. The minister of Jēṭṭhatissa while describing to the latter's queen how his master killed himself in the field of battle, cut his own throat and died (*Mhv*: chap: xlv, vv: 112-117). Thus it will be seen that the *Vēḷaikkāra* army was not composed of mercenaries but of men who had taken the oath to fight and die for their king and were prepared to do so. It is reasonable to suppose that the *Vēḷaikkāra* army first served under the Chóla Viceroy reigning in Ceylon, before they took service under



Vijaya Báhu. Adhi Rájéndra, the son of Vira Rájéndra the Chóla king, was the last Viceroy in Ceylon, and his inscriptions have been found at Polonnaruwa. On the death of Vira Rájéndra in 1070 A.D. Adhi Rájéndra appears to have gone up to the Chóla capital to claim the kingdom that was his by right, but found a new claimant in the person of Rájéndra the Eastern Chalukya king and grandson of Rájéndra Chóla I. In spite of the assistance rendered by Vikramaditya VI., the Western Chalukya king who was married to his sister. Adhi Rájéndra was defeated and killed by Rájéndra who ascended the Chóla throne under the name of Kulóttunga. As Adhi Rájéndra and Kulóttunga were busy over their own affairs and as Kulóttunga was for several years after his accession engaged in fighting the Western Chalukyas, Ceylon was altogether neglected by the Chólas, and Vijaya Báhu must have had an easy walk over to the throne of Ceylon. Although the evacuation of Ceylon by the Chólas took place with the departure of Adhi Rájéndra in the 15th year of Vijaya Báhu's reign, as stated in the Mahávamsa, yet it is difficult to believe that the Chólas were defeated and driven away by Vijaya Báhu. The Vélaikkára army that remained in Ceylon expecting the return of their king must have become the soldiers of Vijaya Báhu and sworn allegiance to him either on hearing of the death of Adhi Rájéndra or to escape the alternative of being decimated by Vijaya Báhu. That the Chóla viceroys in Ceylon were the earlier masters of the Vélaikkára army is borne out by the fact that when in the thirtieth year of his reign Vijaya Báhu requested them to join an expedition against the Chólas, the (the Vélaikkáras) refused and rebelled (Mhv., lx., 36-44).

As the last regnal year of king Vijaya Báhu is mentioned in the inscription, the record must have been made in the year 1109, A.D. a short time before

his death. The protection of these Relics was not, however long left in the hands of the Vēlaikkāra army, as in a short time Vikrama Bāhu, who deposed Jaya Bāhu the successor of Vijaya Bāhu, began to oppress the Buddhist priesthood and demolished their temples, so that the priests were obliged to remove the Bowl and Tooth Relics and conceal them somewhere in the Ruhunu district.

### TEXT OF INSCRIPTION

1. ஸவஸித்ரி லக்ஷயாஸீத டததவாநு ஸவந- கதததவி
2. ஸௌகீஸாஹாஸீதத் த்ரி சிவ்யாஹிந்நு வைரகததத
3. த்ரி ஸுலகணாபுரவெலகலகணா த ஸமோ[பிதா]தததத
4. தததததத தததததததததததததததததததததததததத
5. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததத தததத
6. த்ரிஸுலகணாஸிவத்த த்ரிஸுலகணாஸிவத்த தததததத
7. ததததததத தததத தததததததததததததததததததத
8. ததததததத தததத தததததததததததததததததததத
9. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
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11. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
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18. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
19. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
20. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
21. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
22. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
23. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
24. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
25. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத
26. தததததததததததததததததததததததததத தததததததததத





13. aiñpattaiyañḍu ilaṅkai muḷutum orukuḍai niḷa-
14. ṛṇit-tiruvirájyañ-ceyтарuḷi eḷupattu múvāṇḍu tiru na-
15. kshatrañ-celuttiṇa kò Śrī Saṅgha Bódhi varmarāṇa  
cakravarti-
16. kaḷ Śrī Vijaya Bāhu Dévar nuvarakal té[va] Senavirattar-
17. kku niyókittup-Pulanariyāṇa Vijayarājapurattu eḷup-
18. pitta mūlasthānamākiya Abhayagiri mahā vihāratu  
agra-
19. yatanamāṇa Uttoruḷa mūlaiyil múvulakukkuñ-cikēmaṇi
20. yākiya Daladā pátra dhātu svāmi tévarkaḷukku nitya  
vása bhavana-
21. māṇa pratamābhishékattukku mañkala grahamāṇa  
áttāṇḍu-
22. tórun tíru nayana móksham paṇṇi añcaṇa niṛukkum
23. kaṇṇālañ-ceyyum maṅgala mahā silāmaya Buddha
24. Dévarkku gandhakúṭiyāṇa Daladāyap-perumpalli uṇka-
25. ḷ rakshayāka véṇḍumeṇṇu sakala sāstrāgama silā-
26. cāra sampannarāṇa Rāja Guru Uturuḷa mūlaiyil  
vyāriṇi Mú
27. galan mahā sthāvīrar rájámātyaroḍuñ-kúḍa eḷuntaruḷiyi-
28. runtu eñkalai aḷaittu aruḷiceeytamaiyil mātantirat-
29. tón-kúḍi eñkaḷukku mūtataikaḷáyulla vaḷañceyariyum e-
30. ṇkalóḍu kúḍi varun nakarattárullittāriyuni-kúṭṭi  
mūṇru-
31. kaittiruvéḷaikkāṇa Daladāyap-perumpalli yeṇṇu
32. tirunāmañcātti eṇkaḷ aṇamáy eñkaḷ kávaláy niṛka
33. véṇḍumeṇṇu aṇānkávalukku paḍaip-paḍaiyál óró [r]
34. cévakaraiyum óró [r] véli nilamum iṭṭukkuduttu ip-
35. palli nókkīṇa úrkaḷum parivāramum paṇḍāramum abha-
36. yam pukkāraiyum paṭṭuñ-ketṭuñ-kákkakkaḍavómāka-
37. vum aḷivu paṭṭaḍaṇkaḷaḷivu cōrntum eñkaḷ anava-
38. ya-muḷḷatanaiyu-mēññāṇṇu-mitukku véṇḍuvaṇa ve-
39. llāñ-ceyvómākavum paṇṇiṇa inta vyavastai candrá-
40. ditya varai niṛpatākak-kaiyvīṇā veṇṇic-cempilūñ-kalli-
41. lum veṭṭuvittuk-kuduttóm Valaṅkai Iḍaṅkai Ci-
42. ṛutaṇam Piḷḷaikaḷṭaṇam Vaḍukar Malaiyāḷar Parivārak-
43. kontam Palakalaṇaiyum ulliṭṭa tiru-Veḷaikkāṇa-

44. róm ippaḍi tirampuvāṇum tirampaccolluvāṇu-  
 45. m tirampaccammatippāṇum mātantirattukkuppilaitta  
 46. paḍaippakaiyan pañca mahā pātakaṇ -ceyṭāṇum tévar  
 47. pūtar mātavattórukkuk-kuḍuttāṇa koḷḷum koḍum  
 48. páviyum Buddha Dhamma Saṅgha ratnaikaḷukkup-  
 pilaittá-  
 49. ṇum pukun-narakam pukuvān × × × × aṇa maṇavaṇka.  
 Svasti Śriḥ.

### Translation

Svasti Śriḥ :—May the Vélaikkáras always look after, for the good of the world, the Tooth Relic temple which was built by Déva Sénadhipa, at the command of the king Śrí Vijaya Báhu at Pulastipura in Laṅká, and the Déváles belonging to it which were built by the Vélaikkáras. Buddha's name be praised !

The King Śrí Saṅgha Bódhi Varman or Śrí Vijaya Báhu Dévar, Emperor of the prosperous island of Laṅká, a descendant of Aikshváku of the Solar dynasty, after defeating many an enemy and entering Anurádhapura, wore the crown with the approval of the priesthood (Saṅgha) for the purpose of protecting the Buddhist religion. He invited priests from Pegu (Aramaṇa), caused the priesthood of the three Nikáyas to be purified, presented thrice his own weight in gold to the three Nikáyas, and by (practising) the ten royal virtues, reigned over the whole of Laṅká for fifty five years under the shade of one umbrella, and celebrated seventy three birthdays. He directed Nuvaragiri Déva Senavirattar to erect at Pulanari or Vijaya Rájapuram the Daḷadáya Perumpalli (maha viháre of the Tooth Relic) as a permanent receptacle for Daḷadá Pátra Dhátu Svámi Dévarkaḷ (the Alms Bowl and the Tooth Relics), the crest gems of the three worlds, whose original chief place of deposit was Uttoruḷa Múlai in Abhayagiri mahá viháre, and as a prosperous edifice for the first anointment of, and as a Gandhakuti for, the handsome large image of Buddha Dévar,



in whose honour are annually celebrated the festivals of the ceremony of opening the eyes and painting them with black paste.

The high priest Múgalan, the Rája Guru learned in all the Śāstras and Āgamas and perfect in the practice of all the virtues, residing at Uturaḷa Múlai, and the ministers of the king having met together, sent for us and directed us to accept the custody (of the Shrine). We (the members) of the Mátantra having met together, having invited the Valañceyar who are our elders, and having assembled those including the city members (nakarattár) who usually join us (in our deliberations), have given the name of Múnṛukai Tiruvélaikkáran Daḷadāya Perumpalli (the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vélaikkára army of three divisions) (to the shrine), and have appointed one servant out of, and dedicated one *véli* of land on behalf of, each regiment, so that it may be (considered) our charity institution and under our protection. We shall also protect the villages, servants, and revenues of, and those who take sanctuary in, this shrine, although thereby we may suffer and die. We shall repair all damages and shall always do everything necessary for (the maintenance of) this (shrine) as long as we exist as a body.

We the Tiru Vélaikkáras consisting of Valañkai (right-hand), Iḍaṅkai (left-hand), Cirtaṇam, Piḷlaikaḷṭaṇam (princes), Vaḍukar (Canarese), Malayalese, Parivárakkontam (Temple retinue) and Palakalaṇai (nondescripts) have made this declaration inscribing the same on prepared copper (plates) and stone, so that it may endure as long as the sun and moon do last.

He who contravenes this declaration, or he who induces another to contravene, or he who is guilty of complicity in such contravention shall enter the hell intended for him who offends against the Mátantra and thus becomes an enemy of the army, for him who commits the five graver sins, for the cruel sinner who misappropriates the property donated to



the gods, spirits (Bhútas) and the priesthood, and for him who has offended against the three gems Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Forget not charity. Śvasti Śriḥ.

### Notes

*"Súryya Vaṇṣattu Aikshváku"*:—This appears to be a clear imitation of the practice of some of the Indian royal dynasties who too had no more right than the Ceylon kings to such a distinction. The Pallava kings in many of their inscriptions traced their descent to the Solar dynasty, and the Chólas who came to power after them did the same. The practice of tracing their origin to the Solar or the Lunar dynasties perhaps originated with the South Indian and the Ceylon kings at a time when Brahmin influence was high among them, and later on it became so common that the kings themselves believed in their semi-divine origin.

The king of Ceylon who was the first to receive the honour of being called a scion of the Okkáka race, which is the same as the Aikshváku dynasty, by the author of the Mahāvap̄sa, was Mahá Nága who came to the throne in 561 A. D., and the earliest to trace the same descent in inscriptions was Dappula V. (940 A. D.), to whom are ascribed the inscriptions found at Elléveva Pansala and at Étaviragolleva being Nos : 116 and 117 in Müller's list.

Vijaya Báhu himself said to be of the Aikshváku dynasty according to the inscription was the grandson of Mahinda V., the son of Mahinda IV., whose dynasty as well as that of some others who preceded him are not mentioned in the Mahāvap̄sa as belonging to the Okkáka race, but the Mihintale tablets of Mahinda IV. claim that origin to the king.

The words "*Súryya Vaṇṣattu Aikshvákuvin vaḷi vanta*" are placed so close to "*anéka satruñ*," that one is tempted to take them together and translate the expression into "many enemy (kings) born in the lineage of Aikshváku of the Solar race," and identify the "enemy kings" as the Chóla kings defeated by Vijaya Báhu. But it is not so. Vijaya Báhu, if at all, defeated one Chóla king and not many, and it is more than probable that the words were intended not to represent the lineage of his enemies, but that of Vijaya Báhu himself.

*"Varman"*:—Another Indian name-ending common among the Chólas and the Pallavas.

"*Arumana*":—The country of Rámañña otherwise known as Pegu. According to Rájávali, when Vijaya Báhu came to the throne after driving the Chólas from Ceylon, there was not a single Buddhist priest in the Island, so that priests had to be brought from Burma for the purpose of ordaining others to the priesthood.

"*Tulábháram*":—A common ceremony among the Hindus by which they offer their weight in gold or silver as an offering to the gods. Many such instances are mentioned in the medieval Tamil inscriptions of South India and in some Sīhalese inscriptions too. Following the example of the Hindu kings, Vijaya Báhu and a few others presented their weight in gold to the three Nikāyas. The tulábhāra ceremony still exists among the Hindus and rich men going on pilgrimage to Rámésvaram or to other holy shrines present their weight in silver to the temple in fulfilment of previous vows.

"*The ten royal virtues*" are:—1. *dānam*-almsgiving, 2. *śīlam*-observance of the precepts, 3. *paricega*-generosity, 4. *akkódha*-freedom from wrath, 5. *avihimsa*-mercy, 6. *khanti*-forbearance, 7. *ajjavam*-rectitude, 8. *maddavam*-mildness, 9. *tapa*-selfmortification, and 10. *aviridhana*-freedom from enmity.

"*Tirunakshatram*":—The sacred natal asterism. The literal meaning of the expression "*tirunakshtrañ—celuttina*" is "having passed 73 natal asterisms"; cf. Chóla inscription in the temple of Konerirajapuram (151A of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III. p., 186).

"*Nuvarakal*":—The Tamil form of Nuvaragiri, the Sīhalese "*giri*" and the Tamil "*kal*" being synonymous. This General Nuvaragiri was presumably of the same family as Nagaragiri mentioned as one of the valiant generals of Parākrama Báhu the Great (Mah. LXXVI, 5, 60).

"*Pulanari*":—A colloquial form of Polonnaruva or Pulastipuram.

"*Vijayarajapuram*":—A new name given to Polonnaruva in honour of Vijaya Báhu. The same name appears in one of the inscriptions of Gaja Báhu II. It was called Jananāthapuram by the Chólas and Kālingapuram by Nissāñka Malla.

"*Pallī*":—A word used by the Tamils to represent all places of worship except Hindu temples. It was specially used for Buddhist and Jain temples, and the same is now



applied to Muhammedan mosques. The use of the word is still retained in "*paḷikkūḍam*" (a school) denoting that schools were in early times attached to temples.

"*Daḷadā Pātra Dhātu Svāmi Tēvar*":—Note the divine appellation given to the "Tooth and Bowl Relics."

"*Agrayatanam*":—A place of importance and prominence. *Agra* = chief; *Yatana* = place, dwelling.

"*Uttoruḷa*":—The Tooth Relic appears to have been enshrined at Uttoruḷa Mūlai presumably a shrine in the northern court yard of Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anuradhapura. To this was attached the Uttarala monastery built and endowed by Mānavamma and described in Mah. LVII, 5, 20. Mānavamma's brother was the first high priest of this monastery and Mūgalan mentioned in this inscription may have been one of his successors in office. The Tooth Relic according to this inscription was removed from Uttoruḷa Mūlai and deposited in the new temple built by Vijaya Báhu not only for the purpose of enshrining the same but also for the inauguration of the large stone image of Buddha, in honour of which an annual festival of "*Tirunayana mōksham*" appears to have been conducted.

"*Añcaṇa nīpukkum*":—A queer expression for "*añcaṇam eluta*" or "*añcaṇam tiṭṭa*." Perhaps a specified weight of collyrium was used for the purpose, or the word "*nīpukkum*" may be a mistake for "*nīrutum*."

"*Gandhakūṭi*":—"Secluded room" where Buddha lives. A private chamber devoted to Buddha's use was called Gandhakūṭi, but especially the room he always occupied at Śrāvastī (Childers).

"*Vyāriṇi*":—An obscure word. Mr. Codrington thinks that it is an error for "*viharīṇi*" "taking pleasure"; this is from the root "*vihr*"—"to walk for pleasure, spend time, live" and therefore "to reside". His suggestion appears to be correct and the word is translated into "residing at."

"*Mātantra*":—The administrative and advisory assembly of the Vēḷaikkāra army.

"*Valañceyar*":—Pensioned soldiers who by their age, though not taking part in active operations, were yet useful advisers to the assembly. *Valañciyam* is a Malayāla and as used in the Kadayam Plates of Vīra Raghava Chakravartī of Travancore, means 'trace.' *Valañceyar* were therefore leading merchants of the city.

"*Mutātaikāḷ*":—Literally "ancestors."

“*Nakarattār*”:—Merchants of the city, but here used in the sense “those of the merchants who were members of the big assembly.” The Council of the Nāttukóttai Chetty merchants is called a “Nakaram” and the members “Nakarattār.”

“*Mānṛukai*”:—The three divisions of the army.

“*Vyavasthai*”:—Orders, decrees, or declarations.

“*Kaiyviṇā verri*”:—Rather an obscure expression; literally “made plain by manual art,” and the word “prepared” is therefore used in the translation.

“*Valāṅkai, Idaṅkai*”:—Regiments composed of men of the ‘right-hand’ and ‘left-hand’ castes. There is a tradition that the agricultural castes were called ‘right-hand’ and the artisan castes ‘left-hand’ from the position they took in the presence of a Chóla King, before whom they appeared for a settlement of a dispute. Mr. M. Srinivāsa Aiyangār, M.A., however, thinks that the division arose during the reign of the Chóla King Rájarāja I., when he marshalled his extensive armies into two great divisions, the one consisting of those men who had won for him victories in all his foreign campaigns, and the other composed of new soldiers from the Pándya, the Telugu and the Canarese countries, who had formerly fought against him from his enemies’ camp. The former, recruited chiefly from the Védan, Nāttāman, Malayamán and Paraiah castes, he called the ‘right-hand’ army, while the latter, made up of the Pallar, Pallis, Madegas and Bédar (Canarese hunters) was called the ‘left-hand’ army” (see his “Tamil Studies on the History of the Tamil People”). The words ‘valṅkaiyar’ and ‘valaṅkulattār’ are used as an honorific appellation for the Paraiahs. There were right-hand and left-hand ministers in the Court of China.

“*Čirutaṇam*”:—Men of secondary rank. Men of higher rank were called “perundaṇam” or “perundaram” in South Indian inscriptions.

“*Pillai*” was the word then used for “princes,” but is now used for a class of Vellálas.

“*Paḍaiṇṇakaiyan*”:—A traitor to the army was considered to have committed a sin similar to the five graver or heinous sins (pañca mahá pátakam).

“*Pañca mahá pátakam*”:—The five graver sins are murder (கொலை), theft (சுரவ), taking intoxicants (செறி), lust (செறிவெல்) and disrespect to the teacher or guru (குருநீக்கம்).



## CIRCULARS.

Decisions arrived at on the papers circulated on the 13th and 30th August, 1924, on the following subjects:—

1. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected members of the Society, viz:—

J. P. de Fonseka, B.A.; Peter de Silva, B.A.; Hon. A. Mahadeva, B.A.; John W. de Alwis; K. D. Lewis; H. T. Ramachandra; A. N. Weinman; Miss S. V. Parker, and K. W. de A. Wijayasinha.

2. Mr. A. N. Weinman, Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum was elected Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Society for 1924-25.

3. Decided that the charges for printing proposed by the Colombo Apothecaries Co., be adopted for the present and that they be informed that their terms are accepted.

4. Resolved that the papers from Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara on the subject of an Etymological Dictionary of Sinhalese forwarded by the Hon. the Director of Education, for favour of Council's advice, be kept back for consideration by a Sub-Committee of the Council.

5. Decided that the request of Mr. W. D. de Zoysa made by letter dated 4th August, 1924, regarding the arrears of subscription be not granted.

6. Letter from Mr. F. Lewis about a map from Ptolemy was circulated for information.

7. A letter dated 25th August, 1924, from the Honorary Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, forwarding a copy of general prospectus of the Conference, was circulated for information.

8. Resolved that Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam be authorized to reprint his papers entitled (a) The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers (b) the Identification of the Port of Kalah.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Ceylon University College, November 26th, 1924.*

## Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S. (Edin.), Vice-President.

Muhandiram K. W. Atukorala,	Mr. C. L. Perera.
Miss N. C. Carter,	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. J. W. de Alwis,	Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.
Rev'd. J. P. de Pinto, B.D.	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra.
Mr. Leslie de Saram.	Mr. E. Reimers
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.	Mr. Walter Samarasingha,
Mr. Thomas Gracie.	Atapattu Mudaliyar.
Rev'd. P. L. Jansz,	Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana.	Mr. C. Suppramaniam.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe	Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.	C.C.S.
Mr. S. Pararajasingham.	The Hon. Mr. W. E. Wait,
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.	M.A., C.C.S.

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and A. N. Weinman,  
Hony. Secretaries.

Visitors: 9 ladies, Members of the University College, and  
Ceylon Geographical Association.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 15th  
July, 1924, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Dr. F. D. Adams,  
D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R. Geol.S., Vice-Principal, McGill University,  
Montreal.

3. Dr. Adams delivered his lecture on the "Geological  
History of Ceylon."

4. A vote of thanks to Dr. Adams for his lecture proposed  
by Prof. R. Marrs, was carried with acclamation.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 4th, 1924.*

## Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.A. (Edin.), Vice-President.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka,

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,

Gate Mudaliyar,

Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.

Mr. F. Lewis, (visitor).

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.

Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 13th March, 1924, and the decisions arrived at on the papers circulated on the 13th and 30th August, 1924, were read and confirmed.

It was resolved unanimously that Mr. H. W. Codrington be elected an Honorary Secretary and Treasurer in place of Mr. C. H. Collins who is shortly proceeding to Europe on leave.

3. Papers *re* Etymological Dictionary of Sinhalese were laid on the table.

It was resolved that a Committee of the Council consisting of Prof. Robert Marrs (Chairman), Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Rev. Suriyagoda Suman-gala Sihavira and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, be appointed to advise the Council whether a Dictionary such as is proposed is desirable and, if so, on what lines it should be written.

4. A copy of a map forwarded with letter dated 14th June, 1924, by Mr. F. Lewis was laid on the table.

Mr. Lewis who was present stated how he discovered the map. It was decided that the map should be sent to the Colonial Secretary with a request that copies be reproduced by the Survey Department and Mr. Collins was asked to compare the map with maps in the British Museum.

5. Letter dated 25th August, 1924, from the Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference 1924, Madras, was read.

It was decided to reply regretting that it was not possible for this Society to be represented, and to ask for a copy of the proceedings of the conference.

The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded were elected members of the Society, viz:—

(a) G. Francis Perera,

(b) A. H. Sundar Raman, M.A.,

(c) E. B. Wickramanayaka (Jr.), B.A.



## EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

## No. 3. "DIVES AKURU" GRAVESTONE EPITAPHS

MÁLE has been the Capital of the Máldive Islands (*"Divehi Rájje"*), and the residence of its Sultáns, continuously since the Twelfth Century at least, and in all probability for centuries earlier.

In this Twentieth Century the first, and most persistent, impression left on the European visitor to Mále is not unlikely to be that this much over-populated central Island,<sup>1</sup> which rules the Archipelago, is, in great degree, "a city of the dead."

The appalling redundance of graveyards which meet the eye, almost at every turn, induces reflections inevitably tinged with a sadness that is but half counter-vailed by that partial heart's ease offered so pathetically by the poet:—

They've a way of whispering to me—fellow-wight who yet abide—

In the muted, measured note

Of a ripple under archways, or a lone cave's stillicide:

"No more need we corn and clothing, feel of old terrestrial stress.

Chill detraction stirs no sigh;

Fear of death has even bygone us: death gave all that we possess"

Into "Sultán's Island"—an area, roughly one mile in length, East and West, by half a mile across,—there are crowded at this day no less than twenty-nine Mosques; to the majority of which are attached burial-grounds bristling, all too noticeably, with a veritable forest of stumps,—not live wood but dead stone,—mostly ranged in closest array. No "green graves of sires" these: just stark stiff coral slabs grey, grim and repelling.

It is not unsafe to aver that, during the lapse of the centuries through which Mále's little world has continued to "spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change" since the Island was first occupied, there can scarcely be six feet of Máldive earth (with the exception of the Palace Enclosure and the sites of the more revered Mosques and *Ziyárats*) but have at one period or another held the dead laid "beneath the Churchyard's stone."<sup>2</sup>

No secret is made at Mále now-a-days of the alarming fact that, for some time past, it has been found necessary to make urgently needed room, by clearing away the coral gravestones, (those easily friable monuments of the dead,) and levelling the ground in former, and even some existing, cemeteries, in order to receive fresh occupants; or, as frequently, to put "God's acre" so reclaimed to prosaic mundane use in better housing the living and carrying out desirable Civic improvements.<sup>3</sup>

This charge does not apply to the more important graveyards adjoining the chief Mosques and other shrines, viz: the *Medu Ziyárat* (traditional burial place of Shaikh Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín of Tabriz, Apostle of Islám to the Máldives); the *Hukuru Miskit*, or "Friday Mosque," (where most Sultáns and lesser Royalties are interred, besides specially honoured subjects); *Danna Muḥammad Rasgefánu Miskit: Biḥarózu Miskit* (the resting place of the great Máldivian hero, Sultán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu); and certain others.

But in the case of the majority of Mosques at Mále, imperative demands on available space—dwindling seriously year by year,—whether for further interments or Municipal requirements, have inevitably forced the Government to assert its right to oust even the dead, after due efflux of years, on irresistible grounds of expediency.



### Gravestones

At the Máldives gravestones front South, in accordance with strict requirement of Muḥammadan sepulture.

In their shape they follow one unvarying design. All alike are elongated slabs, usually from two to four feet in height, with breadth proportionate.<sup>5</sup> According to Muslim custom, those used for females are rounded at the top; in the case of men the stones taper finally in ogee curve terminating in a point, giving to these slabs the appearance of long shields reversed.

Carved from a close form of madrepora (*M. hirigá*),<sup>6</sup> the better finished head-stones usually exhibit a tall central arched panel, to which the margins of the slabs serve as plain broad framing edged inwardly by neat beading. The panel itself is bordered by a narrow inner frame, slightly ovolo in section, also plain, encircling the inscription, which is often cut between partitions divided horizontally by beaded fasciæ; the whole being so counter-sunk as to leave the letters—if of *Dives Akuru* or *Arabic* character, but not *Tána* which is incised—standing out in mezzo-relievo.

Only head-stones—and but one side of these—bear the engraved record.

The raised outside border, ordinarily left quite bare, is not infrequently covered with beautiful arabesques, which can occupy both flanks of the panel as well as top and bottom of the writing.

The face of the footstone, and the back of both, may be similarly treated.

Coral-stone lends itself admirably to infinite delicacy of involved sculpture; and the Máldivians have brought the delicate art of ornamental lithic chiselling to a very high level, owing to extraordinary skill in manipulation. The chasteness, wondrous variety, and

exquisite technique displayed by the stone-masons of these little known Islands have always proved a source of pure delight to lovers of choice artistic work carried, as it is here to a marvellous pitch of perfection when displayed in endless profusion of geometrical and floreated detail of stone carving.

In this respect the chisellers in madrepore are matched only by the unique lacquer workers in their many-sided productions.<sup>7</sup>

### Epitaphs

The legend, or epitaph, cut on gravestones at the Máldive Islands is worded either in the Máldivian language (with "*Hijra*" and title of the Muslim month always, and name of the deceased most frequently, in Arabic); or entirely in Arabic.

Where Máldivian is employed, the script used is now invariably the comparatively modern "*Tána*" writing (originally formed from a combination of Máldivian and Arabic numerals, with admixture of a few needed Arabic letters), which has wholly supplanted the archaic "*Dives Akuru*" for a long time past.

Even as far back as the commencement of the 18th Century at least only a small proportion of gravestone inscriptions was cut in this rounded character; itself a distinct modification of the oldest known *aksharas*, the "*Evéla Akuru*" of Máldive *Lómáfánu*, or copper-plate grants by Royalty, which have such close affinities with Sinhalese lithic inscriptions of the 10th to 12th Centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Probably not more than thirty gravestones and other slab records survive at Mále in *Dives Akuru*.<sup>9</sup>

The use of this medieval script for burial epitaphs, for *Fatkoḷu* (Royal grants on parchment or paper), and for Government Orders has quite died out, almost *pari passu* with the fast disappearing acquaintance with its very alphabet.



In the whole of Málé Island at this day the number of persons possessing an intelligent knowledge of the *Dives Akuru* character, and capable of reading it in all its variants and combinations—especially as crowded into these mortuary records—can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This lamentable falling off in epigraphical knowledge has led recently to more than one wholly unexpected—and not greatly relished—discovery, the result of purely fortuitous circumstances.<sup>10</sup>

### “ Dives Akuru ”

All that had been published prior to 1900 regarding that older form of Máldivian script, the *Dives Akuru*, which gradually gave place more and more from the 17th and 18th Centuries to the *Tána* (sometimes called *Gabulí Tána*) alphabet now in universal use at the Máldives, is contained in (i) a short reference, found in the “*Memoir*” compiled by Naval Lieutenants Young and Christopher (*Transactions, Geographical Society, Bombay* 1836-8) to “the most ancient character, called by the natives the *Devehi Hakuru*,” and (ii) the valuable, but incomplete, delineation (18 letters only) of the Alphabet communicated to Dr. Wilson by the latter officer (*Journal R.A.S.* 1841, pp.42-76), and reproduced by Mr. (now Sir) Albert Gray (*Journal R.A.S.* s.s. X, 1878).

In 1919 the Ceylon Asiatic Society issued in its *Journal* (*Vol. XXVII, Extra Number, 1919*), with the author’s permission, an English Translation by Mrs. C. Willis (revised by Mr. John Harward, President of the Society) of Professor Wilhelm Geiger’s scholarly “*Maldivische Studien*, I, II.” (1900-1902).

Professor Geiger’s “*Linguistic Studies*” dwell almost exclusively on the Máldivian language; but in his Paper (Plate I) are given two professed lists of the *Dives Akuru* character, side by side with the *Tána*

alphabet (*Maldivische Alphabete*), taken from a century-old Vocabulary (*Bibliotheca Leydeniana*) now in the India Library, London.<sup>11</sup>

To Professor Geiger's full and valuable "Studies" (*loc. cit.* pp. 1—102) the present writer, as Honorary Secretary of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, had the fortunate privilege of being able to add four *Appendices*. In the third of these (C) he dealt with "The Old and Modern Māldivian Alphabets."

In illustration of the *Dives Akuru* Alphabet, Mr. Bell supplied a Table (Plates VI, VII) in which are set out "the basal forms—twenty-six (26) in all, inclusive of the *sukun* as nasal and reduplicator—(a) of the letters ("vowel consonants") commencing with H and ending at Y and the *sukun*; (b) some variants; supplemented by (c) the five initial vowels, short and long, and (d) their medial signs; with the addition of (e) the consonant H, as modified by all its vowel inflections, as well as (f) a few compound letters.

The *aksharas* were given both in (i) the purer form ruling in the Southern Atols, and (ii) as now modified at Māle. Short specimens (iii) of the *Dives Akuru* writing, by modern hands, were also offered (Plates VII, IX).

No further light on the *Dives Akuru* script has been afforded since 1919, excepting one gravestone photograph, merely intended to illustrate the peculiar form of the script. (*Bell, Sessional Paper, X, 1921, Plate IX, 14*).

### Gravestones A. B. C. D. E

For the present Paper four gravestones with *Dives Akuru* epitaphs, cut in sunk relief, have been selected, as fairly typical, from those photographed at Māle in 1920 and 1922.

These display marked characteristics of the true form of this old alphabet as in vogue from about the



middle, or late, Seventeenth Century to the end of the Eighteenth. To their archæological interest as illustrating a type of epigraphy virtually obsolete, they add incidentally material information of historical value confirming the *Tárikh* and lesser Chronicles of the Máldive Islands.

The quartette (B, C, D, E) of *Dives Akuru* records is preceded by one old gravestone (A) in *Arabic*, extreme contrast justifying such insertion.

This Arabic inscription (A), dated A. H. 1103 (A.C. 1692, from the graveyard of Baṇḍára Miskit, is given on Plate I, to left of two in *Dives Akuru*—(B) a single record dated A. H. 1141 (A. C. 1729), which immediately adjoins (A) at the same Mosque; and (C) one of four from Dolidán Miskit, dated A.H. 1114 (A.C. 1702).

Plate II (D) and Plate III (E) from Etere-kolu Miskit contain each a separate epigraph—shown on a larger scale owing to the crowded nature of the writing—also chiselled in *Dives Akuru* characters: Of these (D) is partially dated; but from internal and other evidence their age can be arrived at very approximately.

The *aksharas* of slab (E) are quite unique in the elaboration expended on them by a strange conceit of the stone mason, who skilfully grooved each letter—a *tour de force* that does not make for simplicity in decipherment.

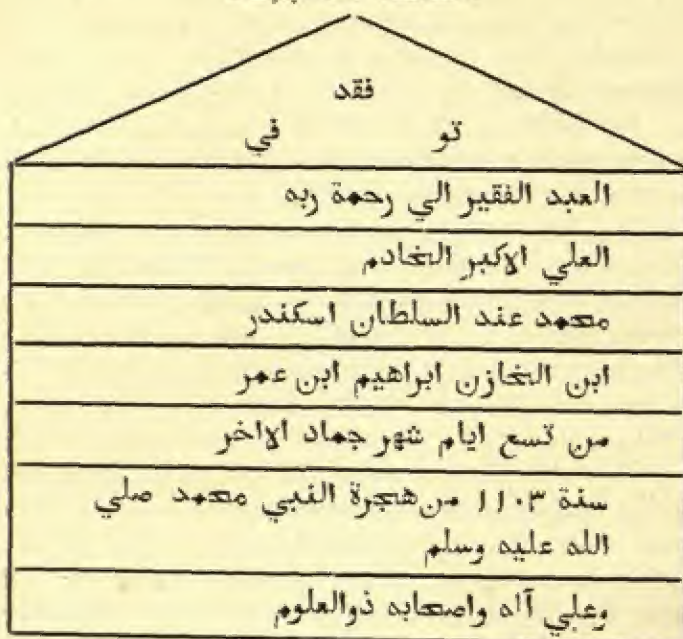
The orthography of these *Dives Akuru* inscriptions is distinctly erratic. The use of variant forms of single letters (e.g., KA, MA, LE) and of compounds (BVA, FRA, SRI, SVA, TRI) side by side with simple vowel-consonants may be noticed; implying that such “vagaries” were countenanced in a script never thoroughly standardised.

Transcripts of the Texts of the five inscriptions reproduced on Plates I, II, III, are followed by Translations, full Glossary, Genealogical Table, and Notes.

## Text

A.

## BAṆDĀRA MISKIT



## Transcript

(1) FAKAD TUVUFFIYA (2) AL-'ABDUL FAKĪR ILĀ  
 RAHMAT RABBIHI (3) AL-'ALĪ AL-AKBAR AL-KHĀDIM  
 (4) MUḤAMMAD 'INDA SULTĀN ISKANDAR (5) IBN AL-  
 KHĀZIN IBRĀHĪM IBN 'UMAR (6) MIN TIS'Ī AYYĀM  
 SHAHAR JAMĀD-AL-ĀKHĪR (7) SANAT 1103 MIN HIJRAT-  
 IN NABĪ MUḤAMMAD SALLALLĀHU 'ALAIHI VA SALLAM  
 (8) VA ALĀ ĀLIHI VA AS-SHĀBIHI ZAV IL 'ULUM

## Translation

Verily Muhammad, son of Ibrāhīm son of 'Umar, attendant on (*lit. near*) Sultān Iskandar (Ibrāhīm I: A.C. 1648-87), slave of God Most High, Most Great, who sought (*lit. beggar for*) (His) mercy, died on the 9th day of (*lit. nine days from*) Jamād al Akhir in the year 1103 (A.C. 1692) of the *Hijra* of our (*lit. the*) Prophet.

To him (the Prophet) may God show mercy and blessing, and to his learned relations and friends.



## Transcript

B. BAṆḌÁRA MISKIT (A.H. 1141)	C. DOLIDÁN MISKIT (A.H. 1114)
1. <i>HĪJRAIN</i>	1. <i>HĪJRAIN</i>
2. <i>EKU</i>	2. <i>HÁ HÁI ES-</i>
3. <i>SĀSTURA</i>	3. <i>SATÉKA SAUDA</i>
4. <i>EKU SA-</i>	4. <i>VÍ AHARU</i>
5. <i>TÉKA SÁ-</i>	5. <i>JAMÁD-AL-AWWAL</i>
6. <i>ĪS (EV)-</i>	6. <i>BÁVÍS VÍ</i>
7. <i>VANA AHA-</i>	7. <i>HÓMA DU-</i>
8. <i>RU SH'ÁBÁN</i>	8. <i>VAHU AL-VAZĪR</i>
7, 8. <i>FANARA</i>	9. <i>HĀJĪ ḤUSAIN</i>
9. <i>VÍ HONIHIRU</i>	10. <i>HANDE-</i>
10. <i>DU</i>	11. <i>IGIRI KALÉGE</i>
11. <i>TAKANDÚ A-</i>	12. <i>DÍ SANFÁ-</i>
12. <i>LI BADE-</i>	13. <i>I BÍFÁNU</i>
13. <i>RI TAKU-</i>	14. <i>FURAUTTA VÍ</i>
13, 14. <i>RUFÁ-</i>	15. <i>KAMU HADÁN</i>
14. <i>NAṚA</i>	
15. <i>MÁRANDÚ</i>	
16. <i>ÁMINÁ</i>	
17. <i>KABULÓ-</i>	
16. <i>GE</i>	
18. <i>BADUN</i>	
19. <i>UFAN AISÁ</i>	
20. <i>A BÍFÁ-</i>	
21. <i>NU NIAUVÍ</i>	
22. <i>KAMU HADÁN</i>	

## Translation

## B.

Be it remembered that 'Aishá Bífánu, daughter of (*lit.* born in the womb of) Márandú Áminá Kabuló and (*lit.* to) Takandú 'Alī Badéri Takurufánu,<sup>12</sup> expired on Monday the 15th (day) of Sh'ában (month) in the year 1141<sup>13</sup> of the *Hijra* era, (A.C. 1729).

## C.

Be it remembered that Sanfá Bífánu, daughter of the Vazír Hāji Ḥusain Hadégiri,<sup>14</sup> passed away on the 22nd day of (the month) Jamád-al-Awwal in the year 1114 of the *Hijra* era (A.C. 1702).

## Transcript

D.	
ETERE-KOĻU MISKIT	
(Undated)	
1.	SWAS-
2.	TÍ SIRIMA-
3.	TA MAHÁ SI-
4.	RI KULA SADA IRA
5.	SIÁKA SÁ-
6.	STURA A-
7.	UDA KÍRITI KA-
8.	TTRI BVANA MAHÁ
9.	RADUNEVÍ 'UMAR MA-
10.	FAHA
11.	KILAGE DIA (FRA)-
12.	SÚTÁVE NUFAN MUHAMMAD
13.	AS-SULTÁN 'IMÁD-
14.	UD-DÍN RADUNA (R)
15.	BÁRARU FAT-
16.	TUMA KILAGE KI-
17.	HUNUFAN MARIAN
18.	KABÁDI KILA-
19.	GE 'UMAR FUĻU AĖU TIRÍ-
20.	S AHARU VÍ
21.	RAMAZÁN
22.	MAHU SAUDA
23.	DU HATARU VA-
24.	NA SA'AT FURAU-
25.	TTAVÍ
25.	HADÁN KAMU

E.	
ETERE-KOĻU MISKIT.	
(Undated)	
1.	SWAS-
2.	TÍ SIRIMA-
3.	TA MAHÁ
4.	SRÍ KULA RAN MÍ-
5.	BA DA-
6.	NÁLA VÍRA SI-
7.	NGA NAVARANNA KI-
8.	RTI AUDÁ-
9.	NA KATTTRI BVA (NA)
10.	MAHÁ RADUN
11.	AS-SULTÁN
12.	IBRÁHÍM ISKAN- DAR
13.	KATTTRI MAHÁ RA-
14.	DUNARA DI-
15.	AFURA-
15, 16.	SÚTÁ-
16.	VE NUFÁ-
17.	N
18.	RENDI KABÁ-
19.	FÁNU FURAUTTA
20.	VÍ KAMU HADÁN

## Translation

## D.

Be it remembered that Mariyam Kabádi Kilage, daughter (*lit.* born in the womb) of Fátumá Kilage of Báraru (island) to the King, Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín,<sup>15</sup> a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, endowed with beauty, of the great glorious race of the Moon and Sun, accomplished in arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilage, passed away on the 14th day, fourth hour, of the month of Ramazán at the full age of thirty-eight years.

## E.

Be it remembered that (Sanfá) Rendi Kabáfanu,<sup>16</sup> born to the Great King, a Kshatriya, Sultán Ibráhím Iskandar, endowed with beauty, of the great glorious race (of the Moon and Sun), rich in gold and great elephants, strong as a lion, famed like the nine gems, accomplished (in arts and sciences), a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, passed away on.....



## Glossary

Maldivian	Sinhalese. Etc.	English
Aharu ... ..	avrudu	year
Aṟu ... ..	aṟa	eight
* Auda, audána ...	_____	_____
Baḍun ... ..	baḍin	in womb
Bávis ... ..	visi deka	twenty-two
Bvana, borana ...	bhuvana	world, universe
* Danála .. ...	_____	_____
Dí ... ..	dú	daughter
† Dīafurasútá-ve ...	_____	_____
Du, dūvahu ... ..	dá, davasa	day
Ēku, es, ev ... ..	eka, ek	one
Fanara ... ..	P. pañchadasa	fifteen
Fánu ... ..	vahansé	honorific affix
‡ Fra, fura, utta, uttara	_____	_____
Fuḷu ... ..	piri	full
Ge ... ..	gé	genitive case, family
Há, hái ... ..	dáha	thousand
§ Hadán ... ..	_____	_____
Hataru ... ..	hatara	four
Hóma ... ..	Sandu(dā)	Monday
Honihiru ... ..	Senasurá(dā)	Saturday
Ira ... ..	Ira	Sun
Kamu ... ..	kama	deed. fact.
* Kattri, Kattiri ...	_____	_____
Kihunufan ... ..	kusen upan	born in womb
* Kírti, Kírítī ... ..	_____	_____
Kula ... ..	kula	race
Mahá ... ..	maha	great
Mahu ... ..	masa	month

Glossary—*contd.*

Mādivian	Sinhalese. Etc.	English
* Miba ... ..	mā ibba	great elephants
* Nava-ranna ... ..	_____	_____
‡ Niauvi ... ..	niyatvi	expired
Nufan ... ..	nīpan	born
Radun ... ..	Raja	King
* Ran ... ..	ran	gold
Sada .. ...	sanda	Moon
Sa'at ... ..	Arabic	hour
Sālis ... ..	sālisa	forty
Sāstura ... ..	sahasra	thousand
* Sāstura ... ..	_____	_____
Satēka ... ..	sata	hundred
Sauda ... ..	P. chatudasa	fourteen
* Siāka ... ..	_____	_____
Singa ... ..	siṅha	lion
Srī, siri ... ..	srī, siri	glorious
* Sirinata ... ..	_____	_____
* Svasti, Suvasti ... ..	_____	_____
Tirīs ... ..	tis	thirty
Ufan ... ..	upan	born
'Umar ... ..	Arabic	age
Vana, vi ... ..	vana, vi	being
Vīra ... ..	vīra	strong

\* Note 17

† Note 18

‡ Note 19

§ Note 20



## Notes

1. MÁLE inhabitants:—Census 1921: males 3,359; females 2,768; total 6,127.

Even in the 12th Century, at the Máldives "*Anberia*" (modern *Hemvéru*, chief "ward" of Mále) "where king and queen reside" was "peopled with a great number of inhabitants" (Edrisi).

2. Not long ago Hojudá-nevi-ge Ismá'il Didi (erstwhile Annual Ambassador to Ceylon on six occasions, and now the invaluable *Míru Baharu* (*Amír al Baḥr*), or Master Attendant, &c., at Mále), given a new residential site, found it productive of numerous long-forgotten graves, yielding human remains evidently once interred in a recognised cemetery.

3. The most recent Municipal action of note in this respect has been the carrying out of extensive improvements at the East side of the Island; when the fine Esplanade and some new roads were formed.

In 1922 Mr. Bell was readily permitted to select for the Colombo Museum any specimens of gravestone ornamentation he desired from a large heap of broken burial-slabs piled ready to be thrown into the sea.

4. See "Plan of Mále" (Sess. Pap. XV, 1921). *Medu Ziyárat*, *Hukuru Miskit*, *Danna Muḥammad Rasgejánu Miskit*, are on *Henvéru Mái Magu*; *Biharózu Miskit* on *Rad-di-bá Magu*.

5. The very few gravestones of exceptional size, or unorthodox shape, noticeable anywhere at the Máldives, only prove the rule.

The two largest seen by the writer mark graves of female relatives of Sultán Hasan X at *Hitadú Island*, *Addú Atol*; where that nominal ruler, never allowed to reign, died in banishment in A. C. 1758.

A rounded "freak" stone occurs at the *Hukuru Miskit*, *Koḷufuri Island*, *Muluku Atol*.

6. Máldivians divide the madrepora of their Atols into three main classes: *hiri-gá*, *veli-gá*, *rat-gá*, the two latter being coral-sandstone (*hiri* "white;" *veli* "sand," *rat* "red;" *gá* "stone.")

7. "The delightful lacquer-work industry of the Máldive Islands is said to be steadily declining. None is now executed apparently, except for Royalty and the

Nobles. The gradual disappearance of this unique Máldivian art seems inevitable, unless it can be specially fostered by local and foreign encouragement.

"Anxious to see the actual *modus operandi*, Ahmad Didi sent the only available worker at Mále to my residence with a half-completed lacquered vase of wood, already lathe-turned and coloured a rich black with bright red borders. Simply standing before me, holding the vase in his left hand, the artificer, with marvellous deftness, ran first one, then the other, of a couple of sharp-edged tools, not unlike short fine chisels, round the face of the black portions, gradually evolving therefrom exquisite foliated tracery by cutting down to the pale yellow base coating of lacquer which underlies the black. The man worked rapidly, and with no pattern as guide or other adventitious aid, the arabesque design assuming intricate shape with machine-like accuracy." (Bell, Diary, February 17th, 1920 : Sess. Pap. XV, 1921 p. 61).

8. At this day a few copper-plate grants (*M. lómáfanu*; *S. famba sannas*) in "*Evéla Akuru*" issued by Máldive Rulers are still extant on the Group.

The most interesting is that (like all examined, unfortunately incomplete) granted by Sultána Rehendi (Khadijah), daughter of S.'Umar Vira Jalál-ud-din, in the 16th year of her reign, A. H. 758 (A. C. 1356). This is being published.

9. All the *Dives Akuru* gravestone epitaphs at Mále, so far as found, were copied by the Archaeological Expedition of 1922; from *Hukuru Miskit* 10, *Etere-koñu Miskit* 6, *Dolidán Miskit* 4, *Galoñu Á Miskit* 2, *Bañdára Miskit* 1, or twenty-three (23) altogether.

Copies were also made of the only two other inscriptions in *Dives Akuru*; the longest cut on the West wall inside the Portico Entrance to *Hukuru Miskit*, the other on the revetment of *Boñu Veyo* (bathing tank) adjoining the Hemvéru Maizán-gé.

10. To aid Mr. Bell in epigraphical research the Máldive Government courteously put at his disposal the services of Husain Takurufánu, (Khatíb of Hitadú, Addú Atol,) then at Mále, whose sound knowledge of *Dives Akuru* script is unquestioned.

Among copies made of gravestone records by this intelligent Khatíb were two which opened—not too pleasantly—the eyes of the authorities responsible for the *laissez faire* manner in which old monuments of the dead are taken for granted, unverified, at Mále.



(i). At Etere-koḷu Miskit, (adjoining the Palace precincts on the N. W.,) close to the Mosque structure stand three slabs, all classed as "gravestones," within their own half-walled enclosure. Until copied by Ḥusain Khatib, these "graves" had been religiously tended as the presumed resting place of Sultān Shujāyī Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn I (A.C. 1620-48), and two of his wives or near female relations.

The first slab (that on the extreme left) proved to be no gravestone at all. It bears merely a variant of three inscriptions, very similarly incised; two on the lintel of the *Ḥittan Doru*, or Chief Entrance to the Palace, and the third on that of the *Īdu Miskit Doru* gateway through the S. W. wall of the Fort.

These record the capture of Málé in A. C. 1752 by Malabars, the deportation of Sultān Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn III, the nominal regency of his daughter Āminā Rapi Kilagefānu, and the administration of the realm by Ḥasan Manikufānu, raised later to the *Masnad* as Š. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn (A. C. 1759-67).

The middle slab (Plate II, D.) belongs to Mariyan Kabá, a daughter of S. Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn I.

The third (Plate III, E.) is the gravestone of Sanfá Rendī Kabá, one of the five daughters of S. Ībrāhīm Iskandar II.

(ii). Of the specially revered graves, (walled in by themselves on the South-West) within the extensive cemetery attached to *Hukuru Miskit*, there is but one of which the head-stone shows the deceased's epitaph in *Dives Akuru*.

This slab—by some extraordinary laches, difficult to justify—had been, as far as present memory goes back, always deemed to mark Sultān Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn's grave; and, as that of the founder of the reigning Dynasty and hero of the mid 18th Century, had been specially honoured to date by his Royal descendants, one or other of whom recited *Fāthiha* there every Friday at the close of *Jum'a*, or midday Muslim service.

Ḥusain Takurufānu's reading of the epitaph on this stone showed it to record in reality the death, not of the Sultān but, of his half-brother. 'Alī Rappa Baḍéri Kilagefānu who died, sixteen years later, in A. H. 1196.

The mere occurrence on the slabs at Etere-koḷu Miskit and Hukuru Miskit respectively of the names of Sultāns Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn I, Ībrāhīm Iskandar II, and Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn in *Arabic* writing, and the almost

universal ignorance of the *Dives Akuru* character prevailing at Mále, had led the authorities blindly to accept current tradition as to the identity of the graves, without deeming it necessary to verify the records.

The Khatib's discovery was at first disbelieved—even resented—until the present Acting Kázi, Ḥusain Dídí Baḡdára Naib (one of the few remaining *Dives Akuru* scholars at Mále) personally examined the stones and satisfied himself regarding their true contents.

The real grave of Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I is still unknown; that of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín was, after much search, traced (by a brass tablet in Arabic clearly recording his death on Ramazán 2nd, A. H. 1180 = A. C. 1767) to the same *Ziyárat*, or roofed tomb, which contains the body of S. Muḥammad Muḥuy-ud-dín-ul-Ádil (A.C. 1693).

11. Given in Columns I, II of Geiger's Table on his Plate I, and reproduced in C. A. S. Journal (*loc. cit.* 1919, Plate I). The Professor, with no experience of Oriental wile, believed these quaint alphabets (albeit he admits, "widely different from the *Divehi Akuru*") to be "archaic variations of the modern alphabet (*ib.* p. 25)."

This supposition 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendí, Máldivian Government Representative, rebutted effectively: "The letters (Plate V) cannot, of course, be called *Dives Akuru*. They were pure inventions of Ḥasan-bin-Ádam of Himítí" (*ib.* p. 159); who, in writing the Máldive Vocabulary, no doubt laid himself out deliberately to invent, from the *Tána* of his day, spurious alphabets to foist on to the erudite, but gullible, Dr. John Leyden.

12 *Takandú 'Ali Baḡdéri Takurufánu*. The *Tárikh* styles him *Doriméná Takurufánu*.

Sulṭán Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín, when Sháh Bandar and Acting Regent, conspired (A. C. 1701) successfully with him, and his own step-father Ḥasan Hakurá Takurufánu of Fasmandú, to oust his cousin, the boy Sulṭán Ḥasan X, son of S. 'Ali VII.

Three years afterwards he himself lost the throne to S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín Muzaffar II.

13. The letters (line 6) following *sális* = 40 are cut too small for indisputable deciphering; but would seem to be either *ev.* = 1, or *av.* = 8; the former by choice.

14 *Háji Ḥusain Hadégiri*. Quite probably the "Hadégiri Manikufánu," who was a half-brother of S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín.



15. *S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dīn I.* (A. C. 1620-48). Great grandson of 'Alī Khatīb, brother of *S. Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu* (A. C. 1573-85) and Ḥasan Raṇṇa Badéri Kilagefánu who recaptured Málé from the Portuguese.

This Sultán's father 'Umar Máfat Kilage, was not of noble birth, and lies traditionally under the stigma of having begotten him in the contemptible rôle of "*Medufiri*".

To enable Máldivians thrice divorced to remarry, "vile and abject beings" says Pyrard "are found who, for a money consideration contract a marriage with the women for a few days. By this means the letter of the law is obeyed; and three months after, the former pair are married afresh. The highest ladies in the land are constrained to go through the same business in like case. These middlemen are called *Medu piry*, as who should say 'middle husband'; they are held in great contempt even of the common people, as infamous creatures without honour or conscience. It is a grievous slander even to be called *Medu piry*." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, 1887, I, p. 154).

*S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dīn* doubtless espoused both Faṭumá Kilage of Báraṇu (Tiladummatí Atol) and 'Aishá Bibí Kamaná, the widow of his two predecessors on the throne, *S. 'Íbráḥīm III* (A. C. 1585-1608) and *S. Ḥusain II* (A. C. 1608-20).

By Queen 'Aishá he had the illustrious son who succeeded him as *S. Iskandar 'Íbráḥīm I* (A. C. 1648-87).

16. *Rendi Kabá*. Sanfá Rendi, fifth child of *S. 'Íbráḥīm Iskandar II* (A. C. 1721-50) married her first-cousin-once-removed, Doṛiméná Manikufánu, son of her great uncle Hólī Ḥasan Hakurá Manikufánu brother of her grandmother Mává Kilage.

Their daughter Don Bínage Dídí, married Sultán Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dīn (A. C. 1774-78.)

17. *Máldivian "birudas"*. Word for word meanings:—

D. "Hail! (*Svastī, Suvastī*); endowed with beauty (*sirimata*); of the great glorious race (*mahá siri kula*) of the Moon and Sun (*Sada Ira*); in arts and sciences (*śiāka sāst-ura*) accomplished (*auda*); of unsullied fame (*kirtti, kiritti*); a Kshatriya (*Kattiri*); Mighty Monarch of the Universe (*Bvana, Bovana, Mahá Raḍun*); who is (*vī*)."

E. "Hail! (*Svastī, Suvastī*); endowed with beauty (*sirimata*); of the great glorious race (*mahá siri kula*) (of the Moon and Sun); rich (*danāla*) in gold (*ran*) and great elephants (*mība*); powerful (as a) lion (*vīra singa*); famed (like)



the nine gems (*navaranna kirtti, kiritti*); accomplished (*audāna*) (in arts and sciences); a Kshatriya (*Kattiri, Kattiri*); great Monarch of the Universe (*Bvana, Bovana, Mahā Radun*)."

With few exceptions, from the Muḥammadan Conversion in A. H. 548 (A. C. 1153-4) onwards, the *Tārīkh* and Lists of Máldive Rulers record the *birudas*, or honorific epithets, attached to each Sultān or Sultāna.

Variants occur in extant Missives from the Sultāns to the Dutch Government during the Eighteenth Century.

Since the British occupation of Ceylon the epithets have been curtailed to half a dozen words, *Kula sundura Kattiri Bovana Mahā Radun* "Great Ruler of the Universe, a Kshatriya of pure race."

For explanations of *birudas*, mostly similar to the above, appearing in S. Ḥasan Nūr-ud-dīn's Missive of A. C. 1795 see Bell, *Sess. Pap.* 1882, pp. 79-80; C. A. S. Journal 1919, Extra Number, pp. 173-9.

18. \**Diāfurasūtā-ve* "begotten." Sometimes used with *nufan* "born." Cf. Siṅhalese *dāva* ("begotten,") *prasūtāva* ("delivered,") *nīpan* ("born.")

19 As frequently in Latin, English, and other languages, the bald Máldivian word for "died" (*M. maruvejje*) is softened on gravestones by the use of terms approximating to well-known pregnant synonyms so familiar in Europe.

(a) *Niau-vī* (Siṅ. *niyat-venava*) "extinguished," "expired;"

(b) *Avahāra-vī* (so too in Siṅhalese) "(life) abandoned."

(c) *Filirā-midi* (Siṅ. *pratirupayen midi*); "released from the image (i. e. body)." Cf. English "shuffle off this mortal coil;" "who pass away, from this our world of flesh set free."

(d) *Furauntlāra-vī* (Siṅ. *purayen uturanavī*) "coming out of (the city, house, i. e. body)," "crossing," "landing." Cf. English "cross the bar;" "now upon the further shore lands the voyager at last."

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\* For valuable suggestions in regard to the connection with Siṅhalese of the Máldivian mortuary terms, the writer gratefully records his real obligation to that sound, modest scholar Abraham Mendis Gunasēkara Mudaliyar, late of the Ceylon Government Educational Department.

20. *Kamu hadán*. "Remember the fact (that)."  
*Hadán* = *Sip. sandahan (venḍa)* "remember."

The Sinhalese Inscription (not mortuary) at Kérágala, Ceylon ends in an equivalent periphrasis, "*datuva yaha-patayi*."

By ellipse of "Remember"—the Latin "*Memento*"—the commonest English expression on gravestones has degenerated into the curt cold "Here lies." (*Hic jacet*).

Our forbears showed more reverence for their dead:—

- (a) "*Mementote Dne Isabelle Le De Spenser comitessa de Warrewic.....obiit Anno Dni. MCCCCXXIX*"

(Memorial to Isabel, Countess of Warwick, 15th Century; Tewkesbury Abbey)

- (b) "Stay, passenger, why goest thou by so fast,  
 Read, if thou can't, whom envious death hath plast  
 Within this monument, Shakespeare, with whom  
 Quick Nature died.....obiit Ano. Doi. 1616.  
 Aetatis 53, Die 23 Ap.

(Memorial to William Shakespeare; Stratford-on-Avon.)

21. See Bell, Sessional Paper XV, 1921 pp. 17-22, 74, for summarised account of some Máldive Rulers.

22. '*Aishá Bí Kamaná*. This lady was eighth in direct descent from '*Ali Rasgefánu* (S. '*Ali VI*), killed defending his Capital against the Portuguese who captured Mále in A. C. 1558. His daughter Kuḍa Kamaná married Ḥasan Rappā Kilagefánu, younger brother of S. Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu with whom he was associated in finally expelling the Portuguese from the Máldives in A. C. 1573.

23. *S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín*. Connected with the Diyamigili Dynasty doubly: (i) his Prime Minister, Muḥammad Doriméná Takurufánu (who succeeded him as S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín Muzaffar II) being his mother's aunt's son (M. *mámage boḍu daitáge dari*), i. e. mother's cousin, or his own first-cousin-once-removed; and (ii) '*Aishá*, chief queen of S. Íbráhím Iskandar II, his half-niece.

S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín's stormy fortunes are touched on in Sess. Pap. *loc cit.* pp. 17-18.

24. *S. Íbráhím Iskandar II*. Died in A. C. 1750, at the age of 42, after a peaceful and prosperous reign of 29 years.

Thereafter ill-luck persistently dogged the Dynasty for many a year.



(i) S. Íbráhím Iskandar's only brother (S. Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III) was captured by an Expedition sent by Ali Rája of Kannannú in A. C. 1752, and deported first to India and finally to Maliku (Minicoy), where he died, in 1757.

(ii) S. Íbráhím's only son, seized and carried off with his uncle the Sultán and three Ministers, managed to escape; and getting back to Mále in A. C. 1763, succeeded to the throne as S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín on the death of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín, in 1767.

In 1773 he went the *Hajj*; but on his return the following year was not allowed to land, and murdered.

(iii) His son, Íbráhím Kaláfánu, died in 1829 at Fua Mulaku, to which far distant isolated Island he had been banished by the heirs of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín.

(iv) Of S. Íbráhím Iskandar's other children by 'Aishá Kabá, five daughters, three died in exile.

(a) Áminá, the eldest, married the Vazír 'Ali Sháh Bandar. Owing to trouble arising with Monsieur Le Termellier, Commander of the French *Corps de Garde* stationed at Mále from 1754-9 (Sess. Pap. XLIII, 1881 pp. 33, 45), she was banished but escaped; captured, was again banished; and a third time, after the Sultán, her brother, sailed for Arabia.

(b) The second daughter, Fátumá, had as husband Aḥmad Muhuy-ud-dín Khatíb, who with his brother Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín, the Kázi, played traitor to their Sultán in 1752; each promptly paying the penalty at the hands of the Malabar invaders.

Íbráhím Siráj-ud-dín, Fátumá's son, thrice Kázi but banished at intervals, carried on the *Tárikh*, or Chronicle of the Máldive Sultáns, (begun by his grandfather Kázi Ḥasan Táj-ud-dín and continued by Kázi Muḥammad Muhibb-ud-dín) from A. C. 1761 to 1821.

(c) *Mariyam*, the third daughter, was wife of Kázi Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín who betrayed S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín Mukarram III to the Malabars.

Their son, Íbráhím Bahá-ud-dín, was appointed Kázi for a while; then banished by S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín.

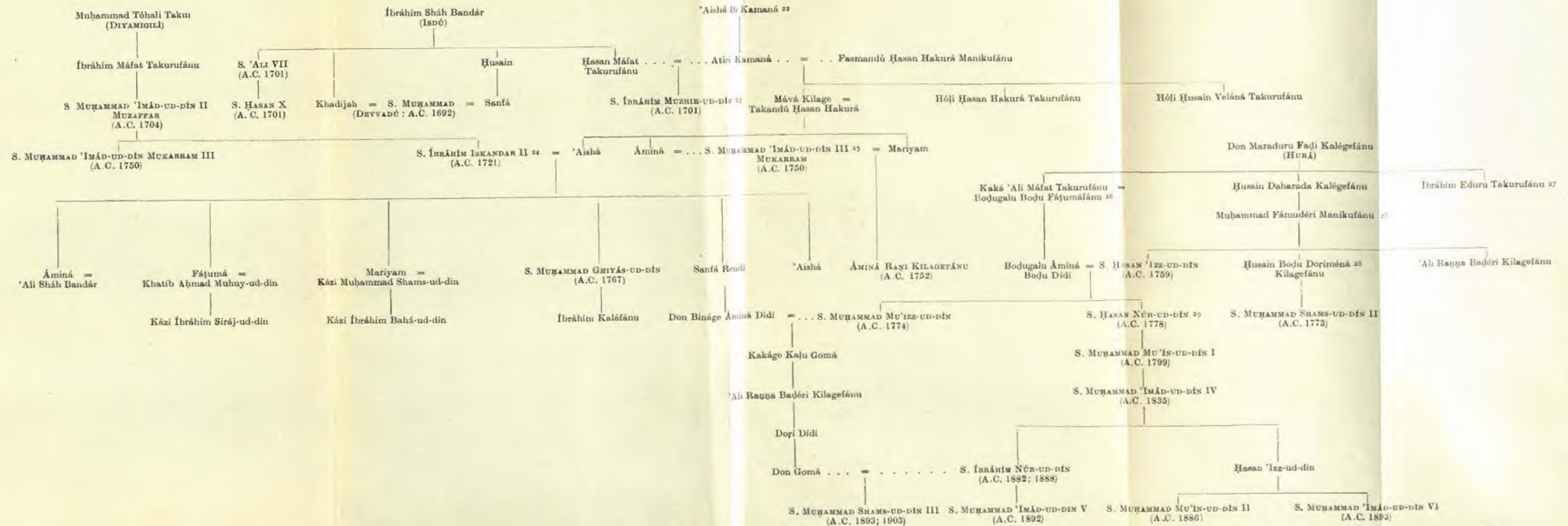
(d), (e) Sanfá Rendi and 'Aishá Kabá, fourth and fifth daughters, alone seem to have avoided the ill-fortune of their uncle, brother, sisters and nephew; both marrying well, and dying at Mále before the close of the 18th Century.



# MÁLDIVE SULTÁNS:

DEVVADÚ, ISDÚ, DIYAMIGILÍ, HURÁ

DYNASTIES. 21





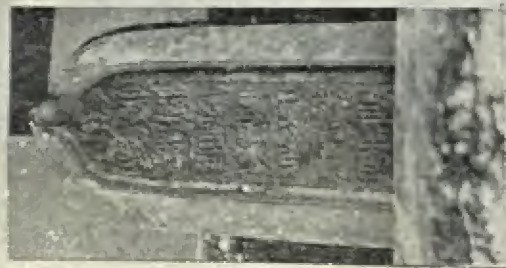




B.



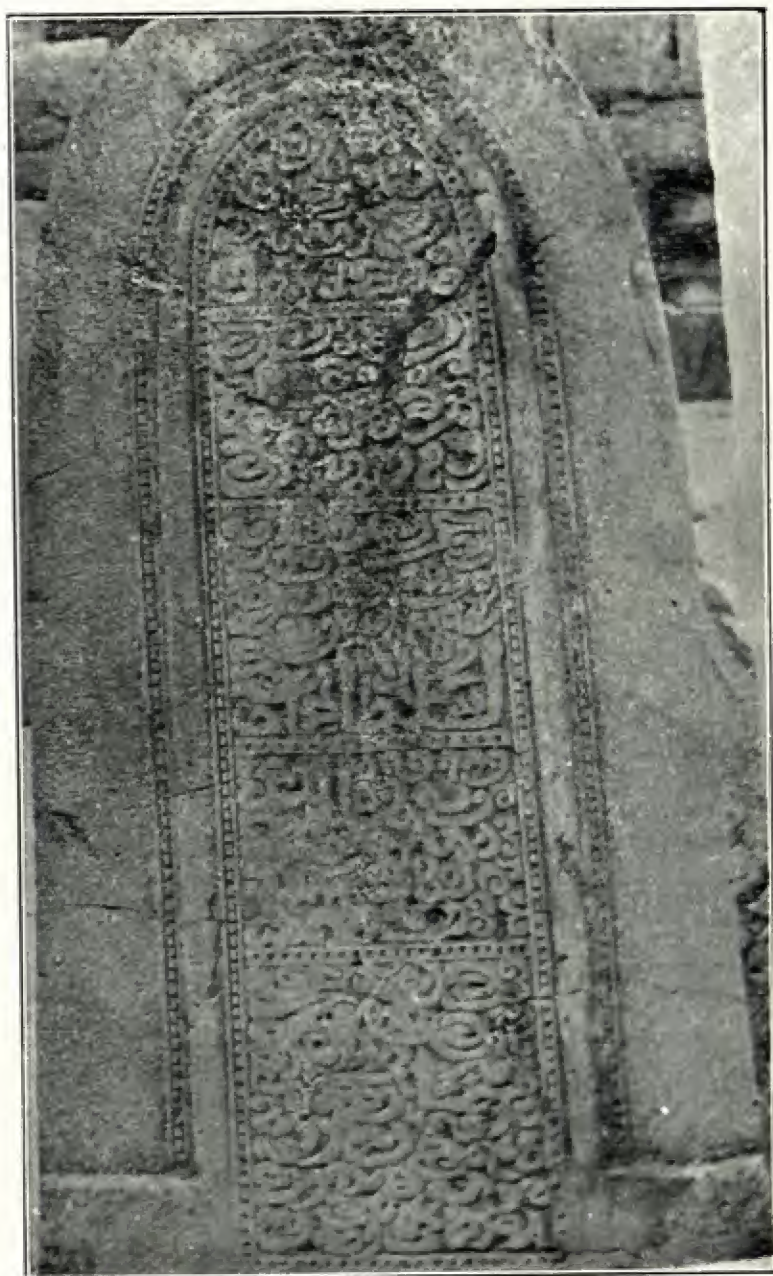
C.



A.















25. *S. Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn Mukarram III.* Styled 'Alī Fāṣinā before his accession. Married in turn Āminā and Mariyam, younger sisters of 'Aishā, his brother's wife.

Mariyam bore him the daughter *Āminā Raṣī Kilagefānu*, whom the Máldivians, after her father's deportation, elected nominal Regent; whilst placing the administration in the hands of a Council of Ministers with Ḥasan Manikufānu (subsequently S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn) as head.

26. *Boḍuḡalu Fāṭumáfānu.* In the person of this lady, the Kakáge family of Mále claim descent from Sulṭān Abu Bakr in the eighth degree.

27. *Íbráhīm Eduru Takurufānu.* The old Prime Minister at this day, A. Hájī Íbráhīm Dídí, Boḍu Doṛiméná Kilagefānu,\* with his sons (also high officials) Aḥmad Dídí, Kuḍa Doṛiméná Kilagefānu, 'Abdul Majid Dídí, Boḍu Baḍéri Manikufānu, and 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendí, Máldivian Government Representative in Ceylon, trace their descent from Íbráhīm Eduru Takurufānu, one of the sons of Don Maraduru Faḍi Kalégefānu of Hurá; through Boḍu Muridú Takurufānu, Ḥusain, Aḥmad, and 'Alī Dídís—the three latter, like Íbráhīm Dídí himself, Chief Ministers honoured with the highest title, *Doṛiméná Kilagefānu* (Bell, Sess. Pap. XV 1921, p. 67).

28. *Muḥammad Vazír Fāmudéri Manikufānu.* Father of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn. With his son Ḥusain, taken captive when their Sulṭān was deported to India (A. C. 1752).

The Vazír died there; but Ḥusain returned to the Islands, and became *Boḍu Doṛiméná Kilagefānu*.

S. Muḥammad Shams-ud-dīn II was the latter's son.

29. *S. Ḥasan Núr-ud-dīn.* Twice went on pilgrimage to Mekka; first in A. C. 1788, and again in 1799.

Unable to get away on the second occasion, owing to persistent harassment by the *Sharif*, the Sulṭān died in Arabia of small-pox.

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\*Died March 31st 1925, at the age of 80, whilst this Paper was in the press. Ibrahim Didi had for years justly acquired the appellation of "the Grand Old Man of the Máldives" owing to his marked ability and sterling qualities, always devoted to the real interests of his country.



## THE COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTIONS AT POLONNARUWA

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

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From the inscriptions on the pillars of the Polonnaruwa "Council Chamber" we learn that on the king's right hand there sat the:—

- (1) Yuvaraja siṭṭiṇe Māpāṇavahanse,
- (2) Ēpāvarun,
- (3) Seneviradun,
- (4) Pradhānayan,
- (5) Potvarun eṭṭu-vu kayasthayan;

and on his left opposite (3), (4) and (5) the:—

- (6) Asampāṇḍi (අසම්පාණ්ඩ) bhāraka māṇḍalikavarun,
- (7) Chaurāsivarun, and
- (8) Kaḍagosthayehi eṭṭavun.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell has translated (6) and (7) by "Elders of the Council" and "Sheriffs" (Arch. Survey, 1900, p.9, in Sessional Paper XLV—1904), renderings which do not seem very satisfactory.

In the account in Mahāvamsa, Cap. LXIX, of the reorganisation of the Sub-king's Country<sup>1</sup> by Parākrama Báhu before his accession to the throne, mention is made of 12 *maṇḍalika*s or governors of provinces and 84 *sāmanta*s or rulers of smaller districts. I therefore surmise that the chiefs in group (6) held the same office in the kingdom as those of the same title in the Sub-king's Country: in other words they corresponded with the later *disānāyaka*s or disawas. And further that the *chaurāsivarun* of group (7) are to be equated with the "84" *sāmanta*s, *chaurāsi* being the Hindustani word for that number, and are the later *raṭanāyaka*s.

The presence of this foreign word in Ceylon will be considered later. Meanwhile it will be observed that our interpretation at once reconciles the offices as witnessed to by our inscriptions with those given in the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*. Thus:—

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya and Nikāya Saṅgraha</i>
Yuvaraja or Mápá	Mápá
Ēpávarun	Ēpá
Seneviradun	Senevirat
Pradhánayan	Adhikára
Potvarun eṭuḷu-vú	
Kayasthayan	Mahaléná
Maṇḍalikavarun	Mahareṭiná
Chaurásivarun	Anuná
Kaḍagosthayehi	
eṭtavun	Siṭuná.

In the two works mentioned the first four dignities are given as “Adhikára Senevirat Ēpá Mápá” in the ascending order, the Senevirat and the Mápá usually having been Adhikára and Ēpá previously. The *potvarun* must have included officials such as the Bhaṇḍárapotthaki (Bañḍarapote), the Jivitapotthaki (? Divelpote) and the Mudalipote, presumably subordinates of the Mahalé.<sup>2</sup> The number “84” for the chiefs of small districts both in the kingdom and in the Subking’s Country calls for explanation. It may well be a traditional number; or more probably Parákrama Báhu modelled his principality on the kingdom, or rather on the King’s Country. But *chaurási* is the name of a group of 84 villages, the modern pargana or taluk, in the United Provinces and in parts of the Panjab (Land Systems of British India, B. H. Baden-Powell, 1892, I., p.179).

We have found already a seeming Hindustani word in *chaurāsi*. Another similar expression appears in *asampāṇḍi*, which hitherto has received no attention. This apparently is in Tamil guise the Persian-Hindustani *jama'bandi*, a common term, now in use even as far south as Travancore, for the determination of the amount of land-revenue due for a year or specified period from a village or other unit. In the North-West Provinces it has the meaning of "annual village rent-roll." Our inscription No. 6, therefore, may be rendered "the chiefs of provinces in charge of the land-revenue assessment." The presence of North Indian words may be due to Kalinga influence: the use of unusual forms such as *pradhānayan* and *kayasthayan* for the familiar *adhikāra* and *mahalé* may be noted. But the presence of a Persian-Hindustani revenue term at this early date in Ceylon demands further investigation.

### Notes

1. *Máyā-raṣa*, from *Mahayā-raṣa*, cf. *épā mahayá siri vinde* of the Mihintale Tablets and other inscriptions.

2. *Bhandārapotthaki*, Mhv. LXXII, 229, and "Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon," No. 153; *Jivitapotthaki*, Mhv. LXX, 174, 318; LXXIV, 89; *Mudali*—or *Mundali*—*poṭe*, *Waharakgoḍa Inscr.*, Report on the Kegalla District, p.82.



THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA.<sup>1</sup>

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. AND D. P. D. MIRIHILLE

This palm leaf document is an heirloom in the Doratiyawé family of Doratiyáwa in the Tiragandahayé Kóralé of Węḍawili Hatpattu in Seven Kóralés. It exists in two copies, the first (a) registered on December 9, 1873, under number 5362, which has been photographed by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, and the second (b), a copy made on March 13, 1878, on which date the first was already broken. The present edition is based on the photograph kindly put at the disposal of the first named writer by Mr. Bell.

The ola professes to record a grant of land at Doratīyāwa by King Niṣṣaṅka Malla, who reigned at Poḷonnaruwa *circa* A.D. 1187-1196. The script is modern with the exception of the occasional use of the form of **න** appearing in the sixteenth century Mēdagōḍa sannasa (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 97) and the cognate form of **ඤ**. It is certain that it is not a modern forgery, such documents differing from ours at every point. Internal evidence is strong that it is a copy, and that the original of (a) was based on a still earlier document, possibly dating from the twelfth century itself. Considerations of the script of this period confirm this view. Thus **ඳ** is confused with **ඳු**, **න** with **ඳු**, **ඞ** with **ඞ**, **ඞ** with **ඞ**, as evidenced in **පොඳු, පඞන, මඞපඞ, පාඞ, සුඞරජපා** and **නාඞුර නාඞන්**. The correct form of most of these words can be seen in the published records of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. The substitution of **න** for **ඤ** as in **ඉනානන්ථිඞන්** is accounted for by the form of **ඤ** already mentioned.

1. This paper was written early in 1923 and before the publication of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., part 5.

The introductory portion of the sannasa occurs also in the Devanagala inscription of Parákrama Báhu I. (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 75) and in the unpublished Ambagamuwā record of Vijaya Báhu. Our translation is based on that of Messrs. Bell and B. Gunasekara Mudaliyar of the first mentioned inscription and on that of Mr. Wickremasinghe of other documents. We have varied, however, the rendering of certain passages:—

I. Mr. Wickremasinghe has taken *yona* in the phrase අනමෙහෙසුන්වූ ලක්දිව පොළොයොන පරපුරෙන් හිමි as derived from Skt. *iśāna* "lord." He gives an alternative interpretation of the word as "maiden" (Skt. *yuvan*, "young"), but is of the opinion that a difficulty arises from the form *yohon* occurring at Devanagala, and from the use of *yona* in the Galpota inscription of Nissāṅka Malla (Epigraphia Zeylanica, I., pp. 26, 27, 248). He bases the translation "lords" on the employment of *mehesana* in the same place in certain other documents, and explains the initial consonant of *yona* by combination with the *poḷo*, which, it should be observed, is not the case in the Galpota inscription.

The following are the variants:—

- i. ලක්දිව පොළො මෙහෙසන පරපුරෙන් හිමි
- ii. අනමෙහෙසුන්වූ ලක්දිව පොළොයොන් (යොන, යෝන, යොහොන්, නවයොන) පරපුරෙන් හිමි
- iii. තමන් යොන පරපුරෙන් හිමි ලක්දිව, රජකරනු මැනවයි ලක්දිව, කුලපෙටු මහරජුන් අයදමෙන්

It seems impossible to explain *nava-yona*, which normally means "young maiden," by derivation from Skt. *iśāna*. The objection to *yohon* disappears if we take all the variants of ii. as coming, not from Skt. *yuvan*, but from Skt. *yoshaná*, "maiden," and, if *mehesana* is feminine, which is possible on the analogy of *rejana*, Skt. *rājini*, we get one idea running through i. and ii. Thus:—

i. Lord by lineal succession of (his) queen, the soil of the Island of Laṅkā.

ii. Lord by lineal succession of (his) maiden (spouse), the soil of the Island of Laṅkā, chief queen unto the Kshatriya princes.

This rendering is not incompatible with Vessagiriya slab inscription No. 2 (Ep. Zeyl. I., p. 31): උක් මොළො මෙතෙසනි කලාවික් ධෙසු “who was like unto a *tilaka* mark to the queen, the soil of Laṅkā,” a phrase clearly of the same meaning as සිව්ලක් දිව්වකලාවික්ඛු of the Meḍirigiriya record (Ep. Zeyl. II., No. 6).

There remains the Galpota inscription. We may consider *yona* as derived from Skt. *yauna*, “matrimonial alliance,” “relationship by marriage,” a correct description of Nissaṅka Malla’s title to the crown, in which case as in that of the derivation from Skt. *iśāna* කමන්, “his,” is not required. Or we can take the word in its usual sense of “maiden” and translate: At the invitation of the king his elder kinsman to rule over the Island of Laṅkā, being lord by lineal succession of his maiden (spouse). This seems preferable and all the passages thus refer to the conception of the realm as the spouse of the king, expressed in the resolution of Parākrama Báhu II: “The damsel Laṅkā shall I make mine, yea even wholly mine, and give her not to another” (Mhv. LXXXII, 5), given more clearly in the Pújávaliya: “I will not allow the lady Laṅkā to be taken by any one else, I will make her my wife ( පතිනි, )”.<sup>2</sup>

2. A similar idea is seen in the following Sanskrit verse, sometimes found in grants of lands to temples:

Ekaiva bhagini loke sarvesām api bhū-bhujām  
na bhogyā na kara-grāhyā dānodāttā vasundharā.

“Earth granted as a (religious) gift is the only sister of sovereign kings (*lit.* possessors of the earth) in the world; she is not to be possessed, her hand is not to be taken in marriage.”

Note the double meaning of *kara-grāhyā*, “hand is not to be taken (in marriage)” and “tax is not to be recovered.”



II. The phrase at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3 on side A of our document appears also in the (a) Ambagamuwa and (b) Devanagala records, i. being Mr. Bell's reading and ii. the eye copy made by the Archaeological Survey:—

(a i) සහ මුමුහු රජබරන කිරන වු පරපුර තුල කල

(a ii) සහ මුමුහු රජබරන කිරන වු පරපුර තුල කල

(b i) සහ මොමුහු රජබරන කිරන වු රුදු තුල කල

(b ii) සහ මොමුහු රජබරන කිරන වු රුදු තුල කල

D. සහ මොමුහු රජබරන කිරන වු රුදු තුල කල

(a i) අරතු බාන x කපතුර මෙන්

(a ii) අරතු [ම or] බාන කපතුර මෙන්

(b i) අරතු ඉතු කපතුර මෙන්

(b ii) අරතු මතු කපතුර මෙන්

D. අර කපතුර මෙන්

In (a ii) ම and බ are constantly confused. In (b) the three words between තුල and කපතුර මෙන් are now illegible on the rock, and so cannot be checked; the preceding letters as given in (b i) are correct.

The sentence has been translated in the Kegalla Report:—"who glitters in the resplendence of his crown and royal apparel; (who has acquired world wide fame... ..) like a wish-conferring tree to those of righteous intent."

The expression කලඅර occurs in the opening sentence of Vessagiriya slab inscription No. 1: මතුල් සිංහන රජකල් කලඅර, "having ascended his auspicious lion-throne which was like unto a rock of safety" (Ep. Zeyl. I., p. 27). In the document under discussion, however, the presence of තුල is reminiscent of the *tulābhāra* ceremony, so frequently mentioned by Nissañka Malla. As depicted in the Galpota inscription the king arrayed in his crown and royal ornaments and accompanied by his queens and children "mounted the scale-pans," and "caused showers of *navaratna* to fall, and afforded relief to the helpless and the distressed—

such as monks, brahmans, the blind, the crippled, dwarfs, and hunchbacks, who had come from various quarters" (Ep. Zeyl. II., p. 118). The expression නවරත්නදාන වම් here employed is exactly parallel with the රුවන්දන් වතුසෙත් of our document, and further the phrase [දෙසෙ]නොසල මුරි දිළිඳුන් සිත්පුර, which occurs almost word for word in the text, is found in connection with the *tulābhāra* ceremony in the Daṁbulla inscription (Ep. Zeyl. I., No. 9, line 18). We are inclined, therefore, to take the whole sentence from සහ මොවුහු to පබ්බාභි with reference to this method of largess and to translate *tula-tala* by "scale-pans" (cf. *hem-tala*, "gold trays.")

Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara has been good enough to call our attention to the occurrence of මුද or මුද් (? Skt. *vyāpta*) in verses 29, 161, 162, and 146 of the Kavsīlumiṇa: it is rendered in the old paraphrase by Skt. *dighda*, "anointed," "smeared." The phrase ද මමිති රූප මුද in verse 29 closely resembles our තිරුසමුද. In verse 146 මුද is followed by රුද, which is paraphrased by Skt. *mahat*, "great," "excellent" "abounding in (riches)." This probably is the sense of රුද in our sannasa, though it is possible that there may be an allusion to its other meaning of "Kuvera," the god of riches.

The part of the sannasa covered by lines 4 and 5 of side A has a general resemblance to the corresponding portion of Gaja Báhu II's Kapuru Vēdu Oya inscription (Journal, XXVI, No. 71, part 1). On this analogy the unintelligible නතුන්දසෙ දෙර should conceal the name of the capital, but it is difficult to make පුලස්සි පුරසෙති or කාලිත (රජ) පුරසෙති fit in with the number of the existing letters. The name of a palace would suit, and such actually occurs in the much later Kudumirisa inscription. It is suggested very tentatively that the original read මහරජසෙදෙර in view of the confusion

between ම and ම් in A, lines 1 and 2, and between න් and නි in B, line 1; further, the twelfth century ජ is not unlike the modern ද. The expression රජකෙදර is found in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I., 19, line 4, and in the *Ambagamuwa* record, line 17.<sup>3</sup>

The word කිකාරක occurring among the royal names can hardly represent anything but කිකකර which holds the same position elsewhere. The restoration කුමකුත්ති in lieu of කුමකනන් is justified by the *Kapuru Vēdu Oya* inscription.

Of the persons present at the granting of the land the two queens Subhadrā and Kalyāṇa are well known as also the heir apparent Vīra Bāhu. Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi Tāvurunāvan was Niṣṣaṅka Malla's general and is mentioned in the *Galpota* and other inscriptions (*Ep. Zeyl.* II., 17, B, line 15; II., 27 and 29). According to the *Pūjāvaliya Vīra Bāhu*, who succeeded his father, was put to death by Tāvuru Senevirat, clearly this general. It seems probable that "Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi" was a title or office similar to the "Vikramasīṅha" of the late Kotté period. Thus, on the deposition of Coḍaganga, Līlāvati was anointed by the chief minister Lak Vijaya Singu Kit Senevi (*Abhayavewa* pillar inscription, A.I.C., 157), while, for his services in securing the crown for Sāhasa Malla, Laṅkādhikāra Lolupelā-kuḷu Dūtṭeṇi Ābónāvan was created Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi Ābónāvan (Sāhasa Malla's *Polonnaruwa* inscription, A.I.C., 156).

Our document mentions two members of the Lolupelā-kuḷu family: the Adhikāra Kitalnāvan and the grantee Laṅkā Adhikāra Lokenāvan. The last named is

3. Under the reign of Kītsirimevan the *Pūjāvaliya* has: රජ දෙද  
.....කුත්තෙදරවඩ. This is translated by B. Gunasekara: "carried it to the palace." The corresponding word in the *Daladā Sīrita* is රජකෙට.



known from the Ruwanveli Dágaba slab inscription (Ep. Zeyl. II, No. 13) as the officer of Niṣṣaṅka Malla who in that king's fourth year restored Ruwanveli Séya, was ordered to repair the Mirisaviṭi and other dágabas, and was given "unlimited wealth and hundreds of *yālas* of paddy." He had been Arakménávan, an office given to prince Jutindhara for the duty of protecting the Bo-tree festival (Pújávaliya, cap. XXXIV; Siphala Bódhi-vaṇṣaya, ed. 1911, p. 194), but was now made Adhikára, a rendering of අධිකාර කොට (loc. cit. line 30) in view of his official standing in our sannasa preferable to that of Wickremasinghe. It is tempting to connect the present grant with the restoration of Ruwanveli Séya and to read සය for සො in B, line 1; traces of uncertainty seem to exist in the formation of ස in our text, but විජය seems out of place as an epithet of a dágaba.

Other members of the family also are known. Lapkádhi-kára Budalnávan is stated in Sáhasa Malla's record to have been the friend of his general Dúttevi Ábónávan already mentioned. The general who ruled by means of Kalyānavatī is called in the Pújávaliya Elalu Ábó Senevirat and in the Mahávaṇṣa Áyasmanta. If he is identical with Dúttevi Ábónávan, who in the Sanskrit part of Sáhasa Malla's inscription is styled "Áyushmat prtanápati," the Lolupelá-kula family must be the same as or at least a branch of the Khandhávára family (Mhv. LXXX, 38). To this Kandavuru-kula belonged Toṭagamuwé Śrī Rahula (Parevi Sandéṣaya, 208; Śeḷaḷihini Sandéṣaya, 111), who according to the Vṛta Ratnákara Pañcika was of the Maurya race. The connection with royalty would account for the title "Lapkátilaka Mahá Devī" conferred on the mother of Dúttevi Ábónávan by Sáhasa Malla.<sup>4</sup>

4. In Epigraphia Zeylanica, II., pp. 219. ff., the name is read as Lolupelá-kula Dúttevi Ábonávan.





where it is translated by Wickremasinghe by "introduced" and "installed" respectively. It is suggested that here its meaning is "pointed out," "designated." As the Gaja Báhu inscription gives the names of the chiefs who went to the spot to set up the stone, as well as that of the officer corresponding to Kalánávan, it may be presumed that the duty of this last was that of seeing that the royal orders were carried out.

It is unfortunate that the name of the district, in which Doratīyáwa was situated, is lost; it seems likely that it was called after Kurunégala or Ratkerauwa, more probably the former. The ancient name of Kurunégala seems to have been Vénaru, still surviving as the designation of a tank near the town limits, presumably the Vápi-nagara of the Mahávaṇsa (LVIII, 43). The last two letters of කුරුකොට්ඨපා, under which the name is concealed, almost certainly in the light of the twelfth century script should be read as මතු, the modern මද. If this be so, the letters immediately preceding this word should mean "country" or "district," and it is proposed tentatively to restore කොට්ඨ as කුරුකොට්ඨ "district," the old form of ක being corrupted into the *elapilla* and the original *ispilla* combined with ක to make ම. The last two letters of the remainder suggest කොර; this form in lieu of තර or තුමර is found in tenth century inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl. I, No. 4, line 7).

The boundaries of Doratīyáwa cannot be identified except in the case of Mánelvaluva, now Máneloluwa. It is possible that "Govipala" is a misreading for "Gompala," that is the modern Kompola, which is in the required direction.

The form තර තුමක appears in the Daḷadā Sirita as a variant for the usual තරතුමක found in the Kapuru Veḍu Oya inscription.



The witnessing of our document by the four royal personages is of interest. In later sannas only one witness, a minister, is usually found, and at a more recent period even he disappears. Private deeds, however, were witnessed to the end of the Kandyan rule almost in the same form as our sannasa. Niṣṣaṅka Malla's royal style must be the Sanskrit form of "Kaliṅgu Lakindu" appearing in Epigraphia Zeylanica, II., No. 14, line 23.

In conclusion it may be presumed that our original was written on palm leaf and so anterior in date to the policy of Niṣṣaṅka Malla thus recorded :—

"Considering that grants in favour of those who rendered services in various capacities conformable to his wishes should last as long as Sun and Moon endure, he did not [as heretofore] have them written on *tal-pat* (palm-leaves) which were liable to be destroyed by white ants, rats, and the like, but had such grants engraved on (copper) plates, and so established the practice which had not been in vogue beforetimes in Laṅkā" (Ep. Zeyl. II., No. 27; cf., *ib.* No. 21).

## TEXT

(Letters in square brackets indicate erasures.)

- Text A: සිරිමත් අපරයන් ලෙනකුත් ගුනමුර්ථකුත් මුද්දමදිවුහා  
 Text emended සිරිමත් අපිරියන් ලෙනකුත් ගුණමුර්ථකුත් මුර්දකදිවුහි  
 අත්කැන් කුලවාගල් කල ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බවකැන්  
 අත්කැන් කුලපාමිලි කළ ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බවකැන්  
 ඔසබනව අගමෙහෙසුන්වූ ලක්දිවු පොදෙයොන පරපුරෙන්  
 ඔසබනව අගමෙහෙසුන්වූ ලක්දිවු පොළොයොන පරපුරෙන්  
 භාමිතුමා සරනානියරසින් අත්රජමුදුන් බිසොවු සහ හෙදින්  
 තිමිතුමා සරණනියරසින් අත්රජමුදුන් බිසෙස්වු සහ හෙදින්  
 2. තීරුපලකෙහෙත් මෙහෙසුරු දළදාපත් උමිඳු රජපිරිනින් සුරඤ්ඤ  
 තීරුපාලකෙහිත් මෙහෙසුරු දළදාපත් උමිඳු රජපිරිනින් සුරිඳු  
 පමනා දෙකින් දිනිපිරු සත්සෙතින් තිත්පිරි[ත්]රු පැනසරින්  
 පබඳු දෙකින් දිනිසුරු සත්සෙතින් තිත්පිරි පැනසරින්

පුරතුරු සොම්මනෙන් නිසසුරු රුසරින් කදප් කුර්නසරින්  
පුරතුරු සොම්මනෙන් නිසසුරු රුසරින් කදප් කුරුණ්කරින්  
බොහොසත් දිගු සහ වොටුනු රජබරන තීර  
බොහොසත් දිගු සහ වොටුනු රජබරණ තීර

3. නවුදු දුඇතුල තල[ක]අර කපතුරුමෙන් නොමි නන්රුවන්  
ණවුදු රුදුතුල තල අර කපතුරුමෙන් නොමි නන්රුවන්  
දන්[ල] වතුරෙන් නන් දෙසෙහොසොල මුරි දිවිදු සිත්සසුරු  
දන් වතුරෙන් නන් දෙසෙහොසල මුරි දිවිදු සිත්සසුරු  
පුරමින් මුලුලෙවුනිපතල යසපබනා ඇති අනා සත්භිනින්  
පුරමින් මුරිලෙවුනිපතල යසපබනා ඇති අණ සත්භිනින්  
නි[න]සංඛ මල්ල නිසසා[ක]රි කා කාලිග පරකුමබානු  
නිසසංක මල (ලංකාසවර) කාලිග පරකුමබානු  
වක්‍රවතීති  
වක්‍රවතීති

4. න්වහන්සේ හා තුන්දුසෙ[අ]දුර අනුමෙක මසපයට [ස] පාසා  
න්වහන්සේ (මහරජ) ගෙ දුර අනුමෙක මධ්‍යයට වැඩ  
සහ [ස] ඔවුනු රජබරනින් සැදි අනුමෙක සුභද්‍ර මහාදෙවින්  
සහ වොටුනු රජබරණින් සැදි අනුමෙක සුභද්‍ර මහාදෙවින්  
වහන්සේහා ක[ල්]ලානා මහාදෙවින් [ප] වහන්සේහා යුව  
වහන්සේහා කලානු මහාදෙවින් වහන්සේහා යුව  
රජ පා සිටි ලංකාදි වරබානුමාපානාත් වහන්සේ  
රජ වැ සිටි ලංකාදි වරබානුමාපාණත් වහන්සේ

5. හාලත් විජයසිඟු සෙනෙමි නාපුරනාවන්හා අධිකාරලොලු  
හාලත් විජයසිඟු සෙනෙමි නාපුරනාවන්හා අධිකාරලොලු  
පාලු කොරි නිකල් නාවන් හා අධිකාරනොටදනවු සානානාවන්  
පැලාකොරි නිකල් නාවන් හා අධිකාරනොටදනවු සානානාවන්  
හා අධිකාර නොටදනවි සුවනාවන් හා සභාපති නාසක  
හා අධිකාර නොටදනවු සුවනාවන් හා සභාපති නාසක  
දහම්බස් හැරි ගප්බානුනාවන් ඇතුලුනු ඇමැතිගණපිටිවර  
දහම්බස් හැරි ගප්බානුනාවන් ඇතුරිවු ඇමැතිගණපිටිවර

B 1. ඇමිනහ[නන්]ත් මා කලමනා රජබුර විවාර වාවකොටදල  
හැමැනත් හි මා කලමනා රජබුර විවාර වාවකොටදල  
[න]තැන ලංකා අධිකාර ලොලු පැලාකොරි ලොකනාවන්  
තැන ලංකා අධිකාර ලොලු පැලාකොරි ලොකනාවන්  
විජයශ්‍රී මහා පාස කැරවුදස්කමට පමුනුකොට බිඳුවට  
විජයශ්‍රී මහා පාස කැරවුදස්කමට පමුණුකොට බිඳුවට  
තුන්සාලක් දෙන්තෙත්සි වදල සෙසින් කිලිග මහ කිලිග[කල]  
තුන්සාලක් දෙන්තෙත්සි වදල සෙසින් කිලිග මහ කිලිග  
වර කලානාවන් දණ  
වර කලානාවන් දන්වා



2. වදල සෙයින් මාසාරජයේ අඩු සුදුකරී කාඩ්පතා දෙරවියායෙ වදල සෙයින් මාසාරජයේ අඩු සුදුකරී කාඩ්පතා දෙරවියාවෙ පැදුන් දිගින් මානෙල්වලුව හා දෙරවියාව හිමිවා සිටිය පැදුම් දිගින් මානෙල්වලුව හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිවා සිටිය සැටිය [ව] හා දකුණු දිගින් හිතවලුයොඩව හා දෙරවියාවට සැටියට හා දකුණු දිගින් හිතවලුයොඩව හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිව සිටිවසටියට හා පැලදින් ගොඵ්පලව හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිව සිටියසැටියට හා පැළදිගින් ගොඵ්පලව හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිව එනව [නා] සිටිය හා හිමිවා සිටිය සැටියට හා
3. උතුරු දිගින් මිටිලැවැට හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිවා එනව සැටිය උතුරු දිගින් මිටිලැවැට හා දෙරවියාවට හිමිවා සිටිය සැටිය [ව] හිමි මේ අතුරෙහි අඩු දෙරවියායෙ මුල්බිඳුවට සතරයාල ව හිමි මේ අතුරෙහි අඩු දෙරවියාවෙ මුල්බිඳුවට සතරයාල සතර මුනෙහින් මෙකුන්ට අය වැලදුමට සිටිමුල් බිඳුවට සතර මුනෙහින් මෙකුන්ට අය වැළඳුමට සිටිමුල් බිඳුවට එක්සල සතරමුනක් හැර පමුණු ලී මුල්බිඳුවට තුන්සා[ය]ලයි එක්සල සතරමුනක් හැර පමුණු දී මුල්බිඳුවට තුන්සාලයි රජකුල කෑමී රජකුල කෑමී
4. යන් යමිමා මකනකුන් බාදු [ම] අනාසය ම[ක]නා කරනුව යන් (සමිදරු) මකනකුන් බාදු අනාසය නො කරනුව හා දලද පාත්‍ර බාතුන්වහන්සේට තෙල්දී වලද[නා]නුව හා ග්‍රී හා දළද පාත්‍ර බාතුන්වහන්සේට තෙල්දී වළඳුනුව හා ග්‍රී කාලිග ලංකෙතිසෙයනා දතනම් අතබිසො සුභද්‍ර නා කාලිග ලංකෙතිසෙය දන්නම් අතබිසො සුභද්‍ර මහාදෙවිමිමා දතනම් කලසන මහා දෙවිමි[ම]ග දතනම් මහාදෙවිමිග දන්නම් කලසන මහා දෙවිමිග දන්නම් සුමරජ [හ] වසිරි උරසිද මිරබානු සුමරජ වැසිරි උරෙහිද මිරබානු
5. මාපානාමිග දතනම් මාපාණමිග දන්නම්

(1) The Medagoda Sannasa form of න.

(2) The cognate form of ණ.

(3) රු over ර.

(4) හා apparently over හැ.

(5) මෑ apparently over මා.

(6) apparently *repha* over ම.

(7) ර over නු.



## TRANSLITERATION

A 1. Sirivat ajarayat lenakut guna-mulun uturat mulu Dambadivuhá an  
Sirivat apiriyat lev-ikut guna-mulin uturat mulu Dambadivuhi an

Ket kula váhal kala Oká-vas raja parapuren baťa Ket osabanata aga-  
Ket kula páмили kala Oká-vas raja parapuren baťa Ket osabanata aga-  
mehesun-vu Lak-divu pode-yona parapuren hámi-tumá saraná-niya resin an  
mehesun-vú Lak-divu poło-yona parapuren himi-tumá saraņa-niya resin an  
raja mudun bissevu saha-tedin  
raja mudun bisesvú sáha-tedin

2. Hiru palakehan Mehesuru dalađejan Uvindu raja-piritin Suragu pama ná-  
Hiru pelakemin Mehesuru daladepin Uvindu raja-viritin Surindu pabanda-

denin Dinisuru sat-setin Kit-Siri rá pena-sarin Surugurá somi-gunen Nisayurá  
denen Dinisuru sat-setin Kit-Siri pena-sarin Suruguru somi-gunen Nisayuru  
rú-sarin Kandaja kulunu-sarin Bohosat dinú saha-voṭunu raja-barana kira-  
rú-sarin Kandap kulunu-sarin Bohosat dinú saha-voṭunu raja-barana kira-

3. na vudu du e tula-tala ará kapaturu-men nomí nan ruvan dan vatu-  
na vudu rudu tula-tala ará kapturu-men nomin nan ruvan dan vatu-  
ren nan desen osola mulu divindu sit-sayuru puramin mulu levuhi patala  
ren nan desen osala mulu dilindu sit-sayuru puramin mulu levuhi patala  
yasa pabaná eti aná-sakvitin Niṣaṇṇka Malla Nishkáluká. Kálínga  
yasa-pabanda eti apa-sakvitin Niṣaṇṇka Malla (Laṇṇaṇvara) Kálínga  
Parákrama Báhu Cakravartti-  
Parákrama Báhu Cakravartti-

4. nvahansé hátundá-ge-dora abhisheka-maṣṣapayaṭa pásá saha-oṭunu  
nvahansé (maharaja-ge-dora) abhisheka-maṇḍapayaṭa veđe saha-voṭunu  
raja-baranin sédi aga-biso Subhadrá Mahádevinvahansé há Kalyáná Mahá-  
raja-baranin sédi aga-biso Subhadrá Mahádevinvahansé há Kalyāṇa Mahá-  
devinvahansé há yuvaraja-pá siṭi ureyi dá Vira Báhu Mápāṇānvahansé  
devinvahansé há yuvaraja-ve siṭi urehi dá Vira Báhu Mápāṇānvahansé

5. há Lak Vijaya Sigu Senávi Tápuranávan há Adhikára Lolupálu-koļu  
há Lak Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi Távurunávan há Adhikára Lolupéla-kulū  
Kitalnávan há Adhikára Toṭadanuvu Sátánávan há Adhikára Toṭadanav  
Kitalnávan há Adhikára Toṭadanavu Sátánávan há Adhikára Toṭadanavu  
Suvanávan há Sabhāpati-náyaka daham-bas-hári Gaja Báhunávan etuluḥu  
Suvanávan há Sabhāpati-náyaka daham-bas-berí Gaja Báhunávan etulu-vú  
emeṭi-gaṇa pirivará  
emeṭi-gaṇa pirivará

B 1. emya tanat má kalamaná rájadhura vicára vyavasthá vadála teṇa  
bēme tanhi má kalamaná rájadhura vicára vyavasthá vadála teṇa

Laṇṇá Adhikára Lolupéla-koļu Lokenávan Vijaya Śrī Mahá-páya keraṇú  
Laṇṇá Adhikára Lolupéla-kulū Lokenávan Vijaya Śrī Mahá-páya keraṇú  
daskamaṭa pamunu koṭa bijuvaṭa tun-yálak denneyayi vadála-seyin Ki-  
daskamaṭa pamunu koṭa bijuvaṭa tun-yálak denneyayi vadála-seyin Ki-  
lingu-maha-Kilinga vara Kalánávan daktá  
lingu-maha-Kilinga vara Kalánávan daktá

2. vadāla-seyin Māyā-rajayé ávú Sudákarikādi paná Doratīyāye pēdun  
vadāla-seyin Māyā-rajayé ávú Sudákarikādi paná Doratīyāvé pēdun  
digin Mānelvaluva há Doratīyāta him-vá sītiya sētiya há dakuṇu digin  
digin Mānelvaluva há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve sītiya sētiyaṭa há dakuṇu digin  
Hinavalugodaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-va sītiya sētiyaṭa há pēla din  
Hinavalugodaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve sītiya sētiyaṭa há pēla digin  
Govipalāta há Doratīyāvaṭa him-va enava sītiya há  
Govipalāta há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve sītiya sētiyaṭa há
3. uturu digin Minilevēṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve enava sētiya him mé  
uturu digin Minilevēṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve sītiya sētiyaṭa him mé  
aturehi ávú Doratīyāye mul bijuvaṭa satara-yāla sataramunekin mekuṇṭa  
aturehi ávú Doratīyāvé mul bijuvaṭa satara-yāla sataramunekin mekuṇṭa  
aya-veladūmaṭa sīti mul bijuvaṭa ek-yāla sataramunak hēra pamunu li mul  
aya-velandumaṭa sīti mul bijuvaṭa ek-yāla sataramunak hēre pamunu di mul  
bijuvaṭa tun-yālayi raja-kula-kēmi-  
bijuvaṭa tun-yālayi raja-kula-kēmi-
4. yan yaminā kenakun bādā anyāya no-karanuva há Daladā-Pātra-dhā-  
yan (sandra) kenakun bādā anyāya no-karanuva há Daladā-Pātra-dhā-  
tunvahansēta tel di valadanuva há Śri Kālinga Lakṣenindonā dattam Aga-  
tunvahansēta tel di valandanuva há Śri Kālinga Lakṣendramha dannam Aga-  
biso Subhadrānā Mahādevimṃā dattam Kalyāna Mahādevimha dattam  
biso Subhadrā Mahādevimha dannam Kalyāna Mahādevimha dannam  
yuvaraja-va sīti urayin dā Vira Báhu  
yuvaraja-ve sīti urehi dā Vira Báhu
5. Māpānāmha dattam.  
Māpānamha dannam.

### Translation

Lord by lineal succession of the maiden (spouse)  
the soil of the Island Lakṣá, chief queen unto the  
Kshatriya princes descended from the royal line of the  
Okkāka race, which, abounding in an assemblage [multi-  
tude] of benignant, boundless, and transcendental  
virtues, has caused the other Kshatriya dynasties of the  
whole of Jambudvīpa to render it homage; I, who have  
anointed the heads of other kings with the effulgence of  
the nails of my feet; who in great glory have surpassed  
the Sun, in might Maheśvara [Śiva], in invincibility  
Upendra [Viṣṇu], in kingly conduct Surendra [Śakra],  
in inexhaustible wealth Dhaneśvara [Kuvera], in (be-  
stowing) happiness to all beings Kīrti-Śri [Lakṣmī], in  
profound wisdom the Teacher of the gods [Bṛhaspati],



in gentleness the Moon, in beauty Kandarpa [Anañga], in riches of benevolence the Bodhisatva; and who, having mounted the scale-pans abounding in [riches], bathed in the radiance of the crown and royal ornaments, have acquired world-wide fame unbroken by filling the ocean of the hearts of all poor men who flock from divers quarters with a flood of gifts of many (and) divers gems like a wish-conferring tree; the Overlord, Niṣṣaṅka Malla (Laṅkeṣvara) Kālīṅga Parākrama Báhu Cakravartī, having entered the Anointing Hall at the gate of (the Royal Palace), adorned with the crown and royal ornaments and accompanied by the Chief Queen Subhadrá Mahá Devī, Kalyāṇa Mahá Devī, the sub-king my own son Vīra Báhu the Mápá, Lak Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi Tāvurunávan, Adhikára Lolupelá-kulu Kitānnavan, Adhikára Toṭadanavu Sātánávan, Adhikára Toṭadanavu Suvanávan, the Chief of the Council Gaja Báhunávan, walking in the path of the Law, and a multitude of other courtiers, was enquiring into such business of State as pleased me in every place and was vouchsafing edicts.

(At that time) I was pleased to grant three *yálas* sowing extent as heritable land for the service rendered by Laṅká Adhikára Lolupelá-kulu Lokenávan in building the (palace) Vijaya Śrī Mahá-páya, and was so pleased, designating Kiliṅgu-maha-Kiliṅga vara Kalánávan [as the officer for executing the grant].

Accordingly there have been given as heritable land three *yálas* sowing extent out of the four *yálas* and four *amuṇas* sowing extent of Sudákarikāḍipaná Doratiyáva in the Máya kingdom, the boundaries (of this village) being: on the East, Mānelvaluva; on the South, Hiravalugoḍa; on the West, Govipala; and on the North, Miniḷeva; that is, exclusive of the one *yála* and four *amuṇas*, the revenue of which is (already) enjoyed by this



(grantee), to be held, without disturbance on the part of servants of the Royal Household or any chief, on payment of oil to the Tooth and Bowl Relics.

I, Śrī Kālinga Lakendra, know this.

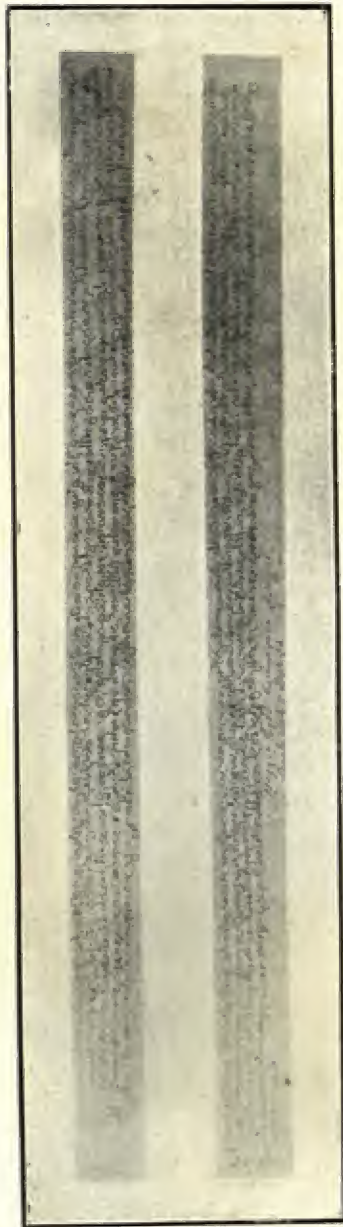
I, the Chief Queen, Subhadrá Mahá Devī, know this.

I, Kalyāṇa Mahá Devī, know this.

I, the Sub-king, (His Majesty's) own son, Vírā Báhu the Mápá, know this.

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THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA.

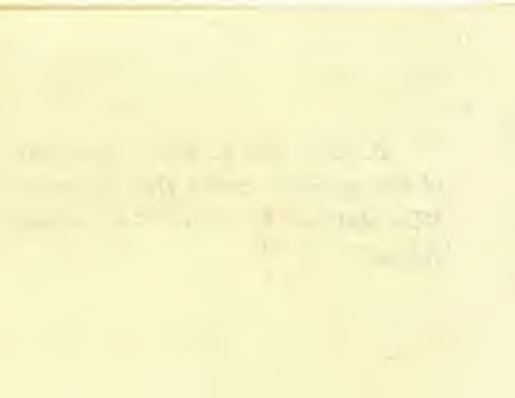


BY KIND PERMISSION OF MR. H. C. P. BELL.





P. 323, line 6. For "massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command" read:—  
Miss Methley has relied on documents at the  
Record



## NOTES AND QUERIES

## NOTE ON "GREEVING'S DIARY."

BY D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

Miss V. M. Methley, F.R.H.S., of Clifton, Bristol, has contributed to Ceylon history a chapter, on which authentic evidence has hitherto been fragmentary—"The Ceylon Expedition of 1803."\* For the chief sources of the information on which her paper is based, massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command Office, transferred there from the Colonial Office and the War Office. One of these is a minute account of the massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command of Major Adam Davie, given by a Dutch Sub-Assistant Surgeon named Greeving, who managed to escape by hiding in a dry well. This account has recently appeared in the Society's Journal with the title "Greeving's Diary."† It is indeed very interesting from different points of view. It is interesting as containing the evidence of an eye-witness to many of the events which it narrates. It is especially interesting for the light it throws on the circumstances which extenuated Major Davie's conduct on the occasion.

In a recent article which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*,‡ Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., (retired), referring to Greeving's Diary remarks that "it has never been printed (though it is quoted in the

\* Paper read before the Royal Historical Society on 11th April, 1918. See its Transactions, 4th series, Vol. I., pp.92-128, for 1919.

† C.A.S.J., Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Pts. III. and IV., pp.166-180.

‡ Vol. IV., Pt. IV., p.179.



"Illustrated London News" for 17th August, 1850\*), and is practically unknown in Ceylon."† It is a pleasing duty to record here that this is by no means the case. I find that the Diary has been printed, I believe for the first time, in the *Colombo Observer*. It appears in Vol. XIV, No. 97, page 4, of Saturday the 18th November, 1848, under the heading "Massacre of Davie's Detachment," purporting it to be a true translation from the Dutch by J. G. Kriekenbeek,‡ the First Assistant Translator to Government. Therefore I suggest that the quotations appearing in the "Illustrated London News" above referred to are from no other source than this. Be that as it may, it seems rather strange that Sir Emerson Tennent who, we apprehend, was about this time collecting materials for his history of the island—the best of the kind that has ever been published—has failed to take cognizance of the existence of a document containing much relevant information. It may nevertheless be surmised that the historians who make some vague references to this "Assistant Surgeon" never knew his name, as it has nowhere transpired in their writings. We shall illustrate this. Cordiner states that "Captain Humphreys laying hold of the arm of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the Malay Regiment, a native of Colombo, found means to roll down with him, from the height where they were standing, to the hollow into which the dead bodies were thrown. They contrived to conceal themselves for several days. The latter escaped to Colombo in the September following."§ We do not know upon whose authority this statement is made, as the

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\* Lewis' *Tombstones and Monuments*, p.430, gives the date as "17th August, 1853."

† Miss Methley, too, says "that it has certainly never been published, and rarely, if ever, even quoted to any useful extent."—R.H.S., Tr., Vol. I., p.117.

‡ He was also an Advocate. He died in 1826.—See J. D. B. Union, Vol. V., pt. IV., p.71.

§ Vol. II., p.214.

Assistant Surgeon did not in fact reach Colombo until May 1804.\* If he had come down to Colombo in September the authorities would have had an account of the whole event, the want of which was greatly deplored. For Cordiner says "as no English Officer who was present at the fall of Kandy has yet appeared to give an account of the causes which led to it, and the subsequent disasters, they are still involved in much obscurity."† Philaethes in his history mentions that Humphreys with an "Assistant Surgeon" escaped from the massacre by rolling down into a ravine and that, being discovered by a Malay Corporal, they were taken before the king, who ordered them to be confined separately.‡ This is founded upon the authority of an article in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1805, page 14. Major Forbes also says that an "Assistant Surgeon" escaped from the massacre.§ All these writers have failed to give his name, and it is certain that the delay of forty-four years which had occurred in the publication of his diary has not been noticed by later writers on Ceylon.

It is here necessary to advert to a few differences I have been able to observe in the accounts. On page 168, line 29 of the *Journal* No. 71, after the word "Kandians," there seems to be an omission of a paragraph, which is to be regretted, as it helps to settle a vexed point, viz., the fate of Lieutenant Blackeney. It runs thus:—

"The 24th June when we delivered battle to the Sinhalese, Doctor Holloway received a slight wound in the left hand which to dress, I (Greeving) was sent for. I found it not dangerous and on being dressed that gentleman took again the firelock in hand and as before fired at the Kandians. Mr. Blekkie (query for Blackeney?) received two wounds from the Kandians one under the right arm on the side of

\* R.H.S. Tr., Vol. I., p.118.

† Vol. II, p.220.

‡ P.165.

§ *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I., p.38.



the breast and the other in the left thigh, which latter he received from behind and the ball passed through. When we departed from the Battery in the afternoon we put Mr. Blekkie (Blackeney?) in a dooly which we caused to be borne by 4 Lascars because that gentleman was unable to make use his right foot, but on all the whites being killed by the Kandians, that gentleman was also drawn by Kaffirs out of the palanquin and struck on the head."

In the Colombo *Observer* the first diary entry (19th June, 1803) reads as follows:—

"From the Malay Regiment deserted to the Kandians the Drum Major Oedien and 7 privates, viz., 1st Tamby Java, 2nd Theran, 3rd Sangiea, 4th Ismail Boegies, 5th Carum, 6th and 7th are unknown to me."

The names of some of the officers are given in a fanciful way in the *Observer*, e.g., "Colonel Berry" for Colonel Bailie, "Gupill" for Goupill, "Captain Anvill" for Captain Humphreys, "Zanthome" for Fanthome.

As regards the veracity of Greeving's narrative, Miss Methley observes that "his professional position would give him far better opportunities than native servants and private soldiers to watch the course of events, just as his education would qualify him the better to set them down."\* It is well therefore to notice here one or two points which would appear to correct the other conflicting accounts. The number of the wounded and sick men murdered in hospital at Kandy is put down by Sir Robert Brownrigg twelve years after the *mêlée* as 'one hundred and fifty.'† Major Beaver 'who belonged to the 19th Regiment, and who was much employed at this period in different capacities,' says that the number killed in hospital was about 149.‡ Then we have the express declaration of Cordiner, Marshall, &c., who state that it was 'one hundred and twenty.' These statements seem to be inconsistent with the account of Greeving where it is

\* R.H.S., Tr., Vol. I., p.118.

† Official Declaration of the Settlement of Kandyan Provinces.—Marshall, p.270.

‡ United Service Journal, 1829, pt. II., p.709.



put down as "one Lieutenant of the 19th Regiment, European soldiers, about 46 or 48, 9 European gunners, 23 Malays and 17 Moorish gunners."\*

The data furnished by the different accounts as to the number of European Officers at Watambuluwa also deserve consideration. In the *Government Gazette* of the 13th of July, 1803, the names of sixteen† Officers are given. The number therein specified represented the entire number of British Officers in the auxiliary force at Kandy, and according to the 'last return,' which was certainly before any engagement took place. In the fullest and most impartial account of Marshall the number of European Officers is given as fourteen. This number cannot be depended upon as it appears to have been made up by reducing the two killed‡ from the sixteen Officers mentioned in the 'last return.' All accounts indicate that at this time the British camp was in the greatest possible distress and misery. Endemic fever prevailed to a fearful extent, carrying away five or six men a day; the camp was straitened for provisions and was embarrassed by rains and wind. Under such circumstances, that the number was gradually reduced may be easily believed. To what extent, it can only be judged from the very significant fact that in the details given by Assistant Surgeon Greeving of the débâcle on 26th June, 1803, no other names have transpired except those of Major Adam Davie, Captains Rumley and Humphreys, Lieutenant Blackeney, Ensigns Barry, Fanthome, and Goupill, Garrison Surgeon Holloway and two Officers of the 19th Regiment whose names are not mentioned by Greeving.

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\* R.A.S.J., No. 71, p.170.

† Miss Methley names 'eighteen,' including Dutch Assistant Surgeon Greeving.

‡ Marshall, p.119.

## THE CROOKED COMB

BY H. W. C.

Mr. A. Alvis in Vol. VI, part II, of the *Ceylon Antiquary* has referred to the tradition that the comb worn in the Low-Country was "introduced into Ceylon about the 18th Century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java."

As far as I am aware there is no mention of the comb in the 16th and 17th centuries. The following extract from Raffles' *History of Java* (London, 1830), Vol. I, p.99, would tend to confirm the Javanese origin of this ornament though the mode of wearing it seems to be somewhat different:—

"Neither men nor women cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length; in this they differ from the *Malāyus* and *Búgis*, who always wear it short. The men, except on particular occasions, gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semi-circular tortoise-shell comb fixed in front."







N.C.

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